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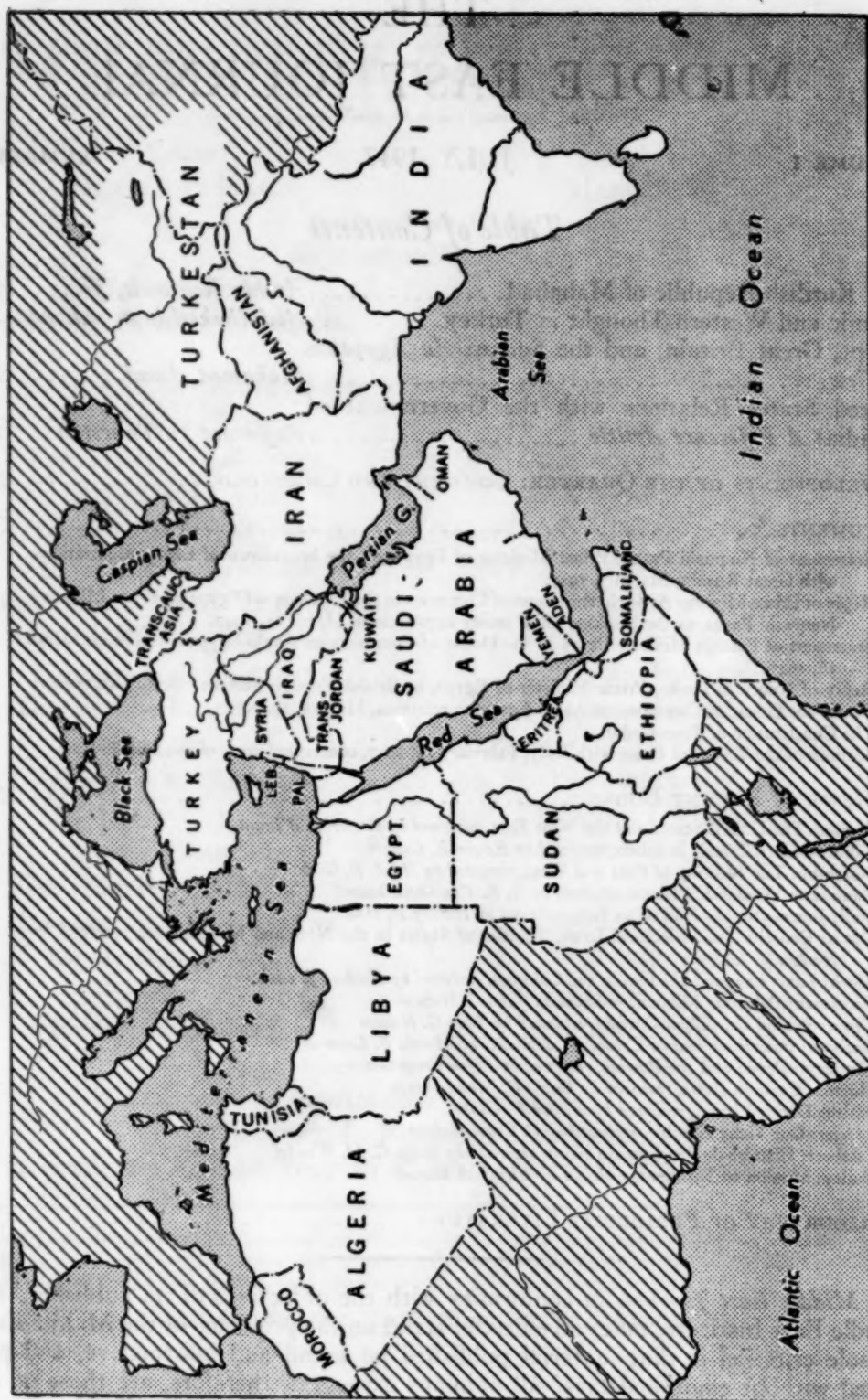
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THE KURDISH REPUBLIC OF MAHABAD

Archie Roosevelt, Jr.

THE DREAM of Kurdish nationalists, an independent Kurdistan, was realized on a miniature scale in Iran from December 1945 to December 1946. The origin of the little Kurdish Republic, its brief and stormy history, and its sudden collapse is one of the more illuminating stories of the contemporary Middle East. Its strangely discordant themes of tribal warfare, rival imperialisms and social systems, medieval chivalry and idealistic nationalism well illustrate the complexity of the Kurdish picture, involving as it does a people never united and now split among five nations, none of which is sympathetic to Kurdish nationalist aspirations.

▼ ARCHIE ROOSEVELT, JR., served as Assistant Military Attaché in Tehran from March 1946 to February 1947. During this period he made a special study of the Kurdish situation and was one of four Americans to visit Mahabad during the brief existence of the Kurdish Republic.

In September 1941, the British and Soviet forces invaded Iran, toppling over the structure painfully erected by Reza Shah Pahlavi. As his soldiers scattered, they sold or surrendered their arms to the tribes which still roamed the desolate mountains of Iran, holding to their organization, mores, and way of life in spite of the old Shah's efforts to subdue them. Among those thus benefiting from the Iranian collapse were the Kurdish tribes occupying the mountains along the Iraqi and Turkish borders from Maku, in the shadow of Mount Ararat in the north, to Qasr-i-Shirin, on the Kermanshah-Baghdad road in the south.

In the north, the Kurdish tribes in the mountains west of Lake Urmieh found themselves contained by the strong Soviet garrisons in Rezaieh, Shahpur, Khoi, and Maku. In the absence of effective Iranian authority, the Soviets maintained direct relations with the tribes — the Jalali in the north, the Shikak in the mountains west of Shahpur, and the Herki west of Rezaieh. The chiefs of these tribes were allowed to manage their own affairs by the Soviets, who only required that they maintain security and provide grain for the Red Army. At the southern extreme of the Kurdish area, near the Kermanshah-Baghdad road — one of the main supply links between the Western Allies and the Soviet Union — British troops kept the tribes quiet.

It was in the large area between the British and Soviet forces, in the vacuum left by the fleeing Iranians, that the Kurds were able to regain their autonomy. At first the two main centers of disturbance were Merivan and the Avroman Mountains, where Mahmud Khan of Kani-Senan established a precarious hegemony; and Baneh, where Hama Rashid Khan, long in exile in Iraq, built up a principality which included Saqqiz and Sardasht. Both of these tribal chiefs were recognized for a time by the Iranian Government as semi-official governors of their areas, but were then driven into Iraq by the reorganized Iranian Army. By the fall of 1945, all of Kurdistan south of the Saqqiz-Baneh-Sardasht line was again firmly in government hands. The vacuum was thus reduced to the small area between this line and the Soviet forces based on Rezaieh, in which there was only one town of any size — Mahabad, formerly known as Sauj Bulagh, a few miles south of Lake Urmieh.



Northwestern Iran, 1946

FORMATION OF THE KOMALA

It was in this town of Mahabad, left to its own devices by the Allies, that the most recent of the Kurdish nationalist movements was born. On August 16, 1943, a dozen young Kurds, most of them small merchants and petty officials of the town, founded the Komala-i-Zhian-i-Kurd, or "Committee of Kurdish Youth." For purposes of secrecy, the membership of the new party was kept below 100 and was organized in cells; the semi-weekly meetings were never held in the same house twice in succession. The Constitution of the Komala was strongly nationalist and membership was restricted to persons of Kurdish descent on both sides of the family, the only exception being for those with an Assyrian mother — an indication of the present close relations between Kurds and Assyrians.

The Komala spread rapidly, not only in Iran but in other countries as well, where Kurds saw in the new group a more vigorous force than in the traditional Kurdish nationalist parties. Chapters of the Komala were founded in the Iraqi towns of Mosul, Kirkuk, Erbil, Suleimania, Rowanduz, and Shaklawa; and there was a chapter functioning even in Turkey, where Kurdish nationalist activity is an offense punishable by death. The chiefs of the tribes in the vicinity of Mahabad also sent emissaries offering help. They were told that they were not needed then, but might be called on in the future.

It was inevitable that the two great powers primarily interested in the area should eventually hear of the Komala. The British, whose Kirkuk oil fields are located in Kurdish country, kept a watchful eye on developments. Their political adviser in Mosul sometimes ranged as far as Mahabad, while his subordinates were stationed in Rowanduz, Kirkuk, Erbil, and Suleimania. Yet the British could not encourage Kurdish aspirations without arousing Arab resentment, and so remained deaf to the overtures of the Kurdish nationalists.

SOVIET INFILTRATION

With the Soviets it was a different story. At first they were evidently unprepared for active work among the Kurds, although

they did once, in 1942, invite the leading aghas to Baku. In the spring of that year, when the Kurds raided some villages west of Lake Urmieh, the Soviets even brought back the Iranian army and gendarmerie (though they rendered their possible services ineffective by constant interference). Yet the Soviets eventually realized the potentialities of the situation. The year 1944 saw Azerbaijan and Kurdistan filled with Soviet political officers and other agents, mostly Moslems from Soviet Azerbaijan. The work in Kurdistan centered around the Soviet Consulate in Rezaieh, attached to which was at least one of the Soviet Union's 100,000 Kurds, known as "Captain Jafarov," who wandered freely among the tribesmen and villagers in Kurdish dress.

Soviet activity in Mahabad dates from the time two of these agents, known as "Abdullahov" and "Hajiov," appeared, ostensibly to buy horses for the Red Army. Apparently a chance encounter first brought them into contact with the Kurdish nationalist movement. The story is that Abdullahov met a man dressed in Kurdish costume in an Armenian wine-shop in Mahabad and complimented him on wearing the national dress.¹ This attention aroused the interest of the Kurd, who happened to be one of the founders of the Komala. They fell into conversation, and finally the Kurd asked whether the Soviets would furnish arms if the Kurds were to form a nationalist party. Abdullahov parried with the question, "Who are you afraid of?" The Kurd said that they feared only their own khans. Abdullahov replied with an expression of contempt for the khans; the Kurd then brought him to a private home where he introduced him to the other leaders of the Komala. Further contacts with Soviet authorities were arranged and one of the Komala leaders who knew Russian became the party's liaison officer. From that time, although the party program called for appeals to each of the Big

¹ Kurdish dress consists of a tasseled turban of blue silk, embroidered vest, baggy grey pants of homespun wool, and a huge crimson kammerband, intricately knotted in front, from which protrudes a pipe, the top of a tobacco pouch, and a long, curved dagger. The Kurds, like other Iranians forced to abandon their native dress by Reza Shah, kept their clothes hidden in their homes, a symbol of their national pride, until the Allied invasion, when they suddenly blossomed out in them. Indeed, the tribesmen, safe in their mountains, had never really abandoned them. The Kurds are incorrigible dandies and a poor man among them would rather spend his last coins on a fine sash than on a good *kebab*. Reza Shah's restrictions on their dress had served to make him and his regime all the more hated.

Three impartially, the Komala moved inevitably into the Soviet orbit.

During this period VOKS, the Soviet international propaganda organization, was starting a number of "Iranian-Soviet Cultural Relations Societies" in all sections of Iran. As the Komala had grown too big to continue meeting in private homes, its leaders now asked the Soviets to found a branch in Mahabad; they hoped thus to obtain a place to meet without attracting too much attention. The Soviets readily complied, and it was founded, not as a branch of the Iranian-Soviet Relations Society, but as the "Kurdistan-Soviet Cultural Relations Society" (Anjoman-i-Farhangi-i-Kurdistan-u-Shuravi). The clubhouse was soon crowded with Kurds, who showed their gratitude to their new patrons by sending ten cases of cigarettes made of Kurdish tobacco to the victors of Leningrad.

It was at a ceremony in the society's clubhouse, in April 1945, that the Komala finally came into the open. The Soviet Consul from Rezaieh and the chief of VOKS in Azerbaijan were honored guests. The main feature of the program was an "opera" in which a woman called "Daik Nishteman" (Mother Native Land) was represented as abused by three ruffians, "Iraq," "Iran," and "Turkey," finally to be rescued by her stalwart sons. The audience, unused to dramatic representations, was deeply moved, and blood-feuds generations old were composed as life-long enemies fell weeping on each other's shoulders and swore to avenge Kurdistan.

At this ceremony the future head of the Kurdish state, Qazi Mohammad, was finally admitted to the party, to the gratification of the Soviets, who had not liked the democratic organization of the Komala and had long been looking for someone on whom they could count to lead it according to their suggestions. At first the Soviets, realizing the strength of the tribes, had approached tribal chiefs with requests to lead the nationalist movement. But only three of them commanded sufficient prestige for the task — Qaranei Agha Rais-ol-Ashair, venerable chief of the Mamesh and the acknowledged leader of the federation of which they were a part; Amr Khan Sharifi, chief of the Shikak and "grand old man" of Kurdistan; and Amir Asad of the Dehbokri, die-hard

conservative who, as honorary chief of the gendarmerie, had been made responsible for security of the area by the Iranian Government. But Soviet overtures to each met only polite evasion.

Thus it was that the Soviets finally turned to Qazi Mohammad, hereditary judge and religious leader of Mahabad, and a member of its most respected family. They were frequent guests at his house and eventually helped him, through pressure on the Iranian Government, to replace Amir Asad as government representative in the area, by his brother Seif Qazi, who took over the title of Commander of the Gendarmerie. Qazi Mohammad is said to have learned of the Komala only about a year after its formation, when he sent emissaries discreetly offering his adherence. Komala leaders had decided not to admit him, fearing that because of his strong and authoritarian character and also because of the deference which they themselves had been accustomed since childhood to show him and his family, he would eventually dominate the party and end its democratic character. When at Soviet insistence the Komala finally did admit him, there came about precisely the result they feared — one-man rule of the party.

Qazi's admission enabled the Soviets to draw the Kurds rapidly into line with Soviet policy, which, by the summer of 1945, began to reflect the growing aggressiveness shown by the Soviets elsewhere. Previously the instrument of Soviet penetration in Iran had been the Tudeh Party, a popular front of Iranian left-wingers which, although successful in other parts of Iran, had never been able to take root in Kurdistan.² Now, however, the Soviets were considering a new and ambitious plan — the attachment of north-western Iran to the Soviet Union. Accordingly they formed an independence party to replace the Tudeh in Azerbaijan, a party which could then without embarrassing the Tudeh in other parts of Iran stage a revolution, declare the province independent, and possibly request incorporation in the Soviet Union. Obedient to Soviet orders, the Tudeh abolished itself and re-formed as the "Democrat Party of Azerbaijan," whereupon it began to use Azerbaijani Turkish as its official language and to demand separation from Iran.

² For a discussion of the Tudeh Party, see George Lenczowski, "The Communist Movement in Iran," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), pp. 29-45.

The Kurds of western Azerbaijan — which includes Mahabad — could hardly have been expected to join a party purportedly dedicated to Azerbaijani Turkish nationalism, so a new party had to be formed to fit them into the Soviet scheme. On September 12, Captain Namazaliev, Soviet Town Commandant in Miandoab, summoned the chiefs of the important Kurdish tribes, together with Qazi Mohammad and Seif Qazi, to Tabriz ostensibly to see the Soviet Consul. When they arrived, the bewildered Kurds were suddenly told to proceed to the railway station, where they were hustled onto a train and taken to Baku. For three days they lived in a villa outside the town and were entertained with tours, the theater, and the opera. On the fourth day they were ushered in to see Bagherov, President of the Azerbaijan S.S.R., who harangued them regarding the wrongs they had suffered under Reza Shah, and said that the Soviet Government would help the new Democrat Party, which was dedicated to freedom for the oppressed and which he strongly urged them to join. He condemned both the Tudeh Party, which he characterized as a group of ineffective trouble-makers, and the Komala, which he said was started in Iraq under the auspices of British intelligence and was nothing but an instrument of British imperialism. Then, after a warning not to say anything about the trip, the Kurds were put on the train to Tabriz, where they were loaded into Red Army vehicles and driven off to their homes.

THE DEMOCRAT PARTY OF KURDISTAN

The results of the expedition were soon apparent. Shortly after his return, Qazi Mohammad called a meeting of Kurdish notables to announce the formation of the Democrat Party of Kurdistan, which he urged all to join. Concluding from its name that the goal of the party was democracy on the American model, many responded enthusiastically. A manifesto, signed by Qazi Mohammad and 105 leading Kurds, was issued; it stated that the Kurdish people now wished "to take advantage of the liberation of the world from Fascism and to share in the promises of the Atlantic Charter." The declaration said that the Kurds wished nothing but the human and constitutional rights denied them by Reza Shah, and listed their aims as follows:

1. The Kurdish people in Iran should have freedom and self-government in the administration of their local affairs, and obtain autonomy within the limits of the Iranian State.
2. The Kurdish language should be used in education and be the official language in administrative affairs.
3. The provincial council of Kurdistan should be immediately elected according to constitutional law and should supervise and inspect all state and social matters.
4. All state officials must be of local origin.
5. A single law for both peasants and notables should be adopted and the future of both secured.
6. The Kurdish Democrat Party will make a special effort to establish unity and complete fraternity with the Azerbaijani people and the other peoples that live in Azerbaijan (Assyrians, Armenians, etc.) in their struggle.
7. The Kurdish Democrat Party will strive for the improvement of the moral and economic state of the Kurdish people through the exploration of Kurdistan's many natural resources, the progress of agriculture and commerce, and the development of hygiene and education.
8. We desire that the peoples living in Iran be able to strive freely for the happiness and progress of their country.

The manifesto ended in Soviet style with the words, "Long Live Kurdish Democratic Autonomy!"

The formation of the new party resulted in the dissolution of the Komala and the absorption of its members by the Democrats. Yet from the beginning the tribal chiefs, fearful of communism, were wary of the new party, though many signed a pledge of support presented them by a Soviet political officer touring the tribal areas. This underlying tribal opposition would have made Qazi Mohammad's position untenable had it not been for a fortuitous accession of strength which arrived from Iraq — Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis.

The Barzanis had been even in Ottoman times one of the most troublesome of all the Kurdish tribes. In the 1920's Sheikh Ahmad of Barzan, considered a god by the Barzanis and neighboring tribes, frequently rebelled against the British, who several times were forced to call in the R.A.F. Finally Sheikh Ahmad, his younger brother Mulla Mustafa, and his principal followers were exiled, first in southern Iraq, then in Suleimania. On June 11, 1942, Mulla Mustafa, who had taken over the leadership from his brother, escaped to Barzan.

The story of Mulla Mustafa's subsequent struggle with the Iraqi Government, of how he twice defeated the Iraqi army in 1945, and how by judicious use of funds the Iraqi Minister of Interior was able to enlist other Kurdish tribes against him and drive him from Barzan, must be told at another time. Suffice it to say that on October 11, 1945, Mulla Mustafa, Sheikh Ahmad, and about 1,000 armed Barzanis and their families entered Iran at a point north of Ushnuieh. With them were a number of Iraqi petty officials and schoolteachers of Kurdish descent, and Kurdish deserters from the Iraqi army and gendarmerie, including twelve army officers. The latter were men of high caliber, several of whom had been trained in England and had held positions on the Iraqi general staff.

Shortly after his arrival in Iran, the Mulla met a number of Soviet officers, including the general commanding Soviet forces in western Azerbaijan. The Soviets told him to place himself under the orders of Qazi Mohammad, and ordered the local Kurds to feed and house the destitute Barzanis. By the end of October the Mulla's forces, swollen by refugees and adventurers from Iraq, numbered nearly 3,000 men armed with British rifles captured from the Iraqi army, machine guns, and one field piece.

THE KURDISH PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

In November and early December, Soviet agents circulated among the tribes, telling them to mobilize for the coming struggle for independence and ordering the chiefs to assemble in Mahabad. All co-operated with the exception of the Mamesh, the Mangur, and the Dehbokri. Meanwhile in the rest of Azerbaijan the position of the Iranian Government was rapidly deteriorating. Armed "Democrats," many of them from Soviet Azerbaijan or the Caucasus, began to attack Iranian soldiers and gendarmes, who soon hardly dared leave their barracks. The whole province was in open "rebellion," while the Red Army stopped relief columns sent north by the Central Government to reinforce its hard-pressed garrisons. Finally, on December 10 the Democrats attacked the garrison in Tabriz and forced it to surrender. All eastern Azerbaijan then fell under the control of the newly-formed "Azerbaijan People's Government."

The fall of Tabriz was the cue for Qazi Mohammad to declare his own area independent — which it had long been in fact. On December 15 at a meeting in Mahabad attended by tribal chiefs, the leaders of the new Kurdish Democrat Party, Mulla Mustafa, and three Soviet officers in a jeep and armed with tommy-guns, he solemnly inaugurated the Kurdish People's Government and raised the Kurdish flag. A national parliament of thirteen members was formed, and on January 22, 1946, Qazi Mohammad was elected president of the new republic. The Minister of War was his cousin, Mohammad Hosein Khan Seif Qazi, a merchant whose military reputation rested on his honorary rank of captain in the Iranian gendarmerie. Seif Qazi, Mulla Mustafa, Amr Khan Shikak, Hama Rashid Khan Banei (just returned from Iraq with his tribesmen), and Zero Beg Herki³ received the rank of "marshal," and were provided with Soviet uniforms, complete with high boots, stiff shoulder-straps, and red-banded garrison caps.⁴

The new government, which controlled only a minute territory including the towns of Mahabad, Bokoan, Naqadeh, and Ushnuieh, sent observers to the opening of the Azerbaijan National Parliament and even convoked a miniature parliament of its own. It also dispatched Mulla Mustafa south to fight the Iranian garrisons in Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht, cut off from each other and their base in Senandaj by the heavy winter snows.

RELATIONS WITH TABRIZ AND TEHRAN

Meanwhile in the north the capture of Rezaieh by the Azerbaijani Democrats brought new problems to the Kurdish government. Although the majority of the inhabitants of the plains west

³ Zero Beg was a bandit chief originally associated with the famous Shikak rebel chief, Simitko. Upon the latter's defeat and murder by Reza Shah, Zero Beg fled to Iraq, returning in 1941 to carve out a domain for himself in the Baranduz Valley. He was often seen with Soviet political officers and seems to have been their favored protégé. Although of little importance in his own tribe, the Herki, most of whom still followed their hereditary chiefs, these Soviet connections enabled him to play an important role in developments in Kurdistan.

⁴ Other officials of the new government were Hajji Baba Sheikh, local religious leader, Prime Minister; Sadiq Haideri, Minister of Works and Propaganda; Nanaf Karimi, Minister of Education; Mohammad Amin Mu'ini, Minister of Commerce; Ahmad Ilahi, Minister of the Treasury; Seyyid Mohammad Tahazadeh, Minister of Health; and Khalil Khosrovi, Minister of the Interior. Only one of these men had been among the founders of the Komala, but all belonged to the middle or upper classes — small merchants, officials, landlords.

of Lake Urmieh, from Rezaieh north to Maku, are Azerbaijani Turks, the tribes of the hills commanding the plains are Kurds. The Miandoab area, southeast of the lake, also has a mixed population. These areas were claimed by both the Tabriz and the Mahabad governments and were a source of constant friction. Amr Khan and the tribes paid little attention to the Azerbaijani Democrats, and were continually encroaching on the villages and towns presumably under the control of Tabriz. In April 1946, the Soviets brought Qazi Mohammad to Tabriz in an attempt to settle the differences between the Azerbaijanis and the Kurds. It was essential at that time that the two puppet states form a united front, as negotiations were about to open between the Democrats and the Iranian Government for a permanent settlement of the status of the province.

The final result of talks between Pishevari, leader of the Azerbaijani Democrats, Qazi Mohammad, and the Soviets was a treaty signed April 23, 1946, by the Kurdish and the Azerbaijani representatives. Publication of this treaty caused consternation in Tehran, as its clauses and indeed its very existence showed that the twin Democrat regimes considered themselves independent nations with the right to exchange representatives and make treaties. The text of the treaty was as follows:

1. The two signatory governments will exchange representatives whenever it is deemed advisable.
2. In those areas of Azerbaijan where there are Kurdish minorities, Kurds will be appointed to government departments, and in those parts of Kurdistan where there are Azerbaijani minorities, Azerbaijanis will be appointed to government departments.
3. A joint economic commission will be formed to solve the economic problems of the signatory nations. Members of this commission will be appointed by the heads of the national governments.
4. The military forces of the signatory nations will assist each other whenever necessary.
5. Any negotiations with the Tehran Government will be conducted in the joint interest of the Azerbaijan and Kurdish national governments.
6. The Azerbaijan National Government will take the necessary steps to promote the use of the Kurdish language and the development of Kurdish culture among the Kurds of Azerbaijan, and the Kurdish National Government will take similar steps with regard to the Azerbaijanis living in Kurdistan.
7. Both signatory nations will take measures to punish any individual or

group seeking to destroy the historic friendship and democratic brotherhood of the Azerbaijanis and the Kurds.⁵

The Azerbaijani Democrats next proceeded to negotiate a settlement in Tehran with the Iranian Premier, Ahmad Qavam. By its terms all Azerbaijan, including the Kurdish areas, became once more nominally part of Iran, while the Democrat leaders were "appointed" to posts in Azerbaijan Province corresponding to those they already held in the Democrat government. The Kurds reacted unfavorably to the agreement. Although they had been represented in at least some of the negotiations by Sadr Qazi, Qazi Mohammad's brother and a deputy in the last Iranian parliament, they felt that their wishes had been largely ignored. Whereas the Azerbaijani Democrats had legalized the positions they had seized, Qazi Mohammad's government now had no legal basis at all. The Kurds had progressed from the condition of a minority in the Iranian state to that of a minority in an Azerbaijani Turkish state.

Finally, Qazi Mohammad himself went to Tehran to voice his disapproval to Premier Qavam. He asked to be made governor of a new Kurdish province consisting of the Kurdish parts of Azerbaijan, combined with the much larger areas inhabited by Kurds still under Iranian control — a territory that would stretch from the Russian border to a point half way between Kermanshah and Senandaj.⁶ This new province was to have a degree of local autonomy, with its provincial officials and its army garrison recruited entirely from the local population. The wily Iranian premier agreed to Qazi's proposal, but with the proviso that Qazi must also obtain the consent of Dr. Javid, the Democrat Governor of Azerbaijan. Dr. Javid indignantly rejected the plan, and friction continued between the Kurds and the Azerbaijani Democrats.

Although in the course of these conversations in Tehran a truce

⁵ The treaty was signed in Tabriz by Pischevari, Biriya, Dr. Javid, and Sadiq Padegan for the Azerbaijani Democrats, and by Qazi Mohammad, Seyyid Abdullah Gilani, Amr Khan Shikak, Zero Beg Herki, and Rashid Beg Herki for the Kurds.

⁶ Senandaj (Senna) was the capital of the province of Kurdistan, the former independent principality of Ardelan. It included Saqqiz and Baneh, but not Sardasht, which was administratively part of Azerbaijan. In the present article the word "Kurdistan" has been used to designate Qazi Mohammad's territory, none of which was in the province of Kurdistan.

had been agreed upon by the Central Government on the one hand, and the Kurds and Azerbaijanis on the other, sniping and skirmishing continued, occasionally flaring up into open warfare. The Iranians, in view of the declared intention of the Soviets to evacuate Iran early in May,⁷ now began to take more active military measures. The Kurdish front was held by the Iranian Fourth Division under the command of tall, able General Homyuni, recently transferred from Khuzistan, where he had carried out a vigorous disarmament program among the Arab tribes. In mid-April, Homyuni opened the roads and rushed reinforcements to Saqqiz, Baneh, and Sardasht.

The Soviets were said to have promised the Kurds planes, tanks, and heavy weapons, and to have taken some fifty young Kurds to Baku for military and political training. For the present, however, Qazi Mohammad had to rely on tribal levies to oppose the Iranians. In the hills overlooking General Homyuni's forces was a formidable but divided force consisting principally of the Barzanis, but also including small Kurdish tribes always ready for fighting and looting, and Hama Rashid and his henchmen.⁸

As General Homyuni pulled more and more reinforcements into the area, Qazi Mohammad and the Soviets put pressure on Amr Khan of the Shikak and his allies, the Herki, to come down from the north and aid in the operations. At first Amr Khan demurred on the excuse that his horses were in pasture elsewhere and could not be moved, but at the beginning of May he reluctantly sent his tribesmen to the battle zone.

The month of May 1946 was marked by a number of fierce battles, all fought by small numbers and none of them followed through by decisive operations. In the beginning of the month the Kurds won a victory damaging to Iranian prestige when they surprised an army column on a road march near Saqqiz, killed twenty, and captured thirty-odd prisoners, two machine guns, and 4,000 rounds of ammunition. The Kurdish prisoners were conscripted in the Kurdish army; the rest were sent to Tabriz.

⁷ The Red Army finally evacuated Iran on May 9, 1946.

⁸ Hama Rashid was of dubious value to the Kurds, as he was continually carrying on secret negotiations with the Iranian army for his reinstatement as Governor of Baneh, and was also suspected by both Kurds and Iranians of a mysterious connection with the British. In August, hearing that plans were being made in Mahabad to have him murdered, Hama Rashid fled back into Iraq.

The Kurds were repulsed, however, in an attack on the Mahmudabad Pass near Saqqiz, designed to cut the Senandaj Road, and again later after they had seized the hills overlooking Saqqiz. The Iranian army drove them off and erected round watch-towers of mud on the summits, each manned by thirty or forty soldiers. Finally a truce was effected whereby liaison officers were exchanged,⁹ each side was to stay within its lines, and the Kurds were to have the right to inspect vehicles going from Saqqiz to Baneh and Sardasht and so stop arms and ammunition from reaching the Iranian garrisons there. The Shikak and the Herki returned to the north.

CHARACTER OF QAZI MOHAMMAD AND THE KURDISH REPUBLIC

After this period of conflict, Qazi Mohammad drew aside his iron curtain and gave non-Soviet observers a chance to look at his country. Although feeling against the British on account of the expulsion of the Barzanis from Iraq, Soviet-sponsored anti-British propaganda, and certain events in the past in which the Kurds considered they had been victims of British opportunism, was too strong to permit them to visit the tiny Kurdish Republic, at various times four Americans and one Frenchman were guests of Qazi Mohammad.

These observers found the Kurdish Republic to be a going concern. Although destitute of any legal basis whatsoever, Qazi Mohammad's *de facto* government continued as before, changing only the title of its ministers from *wazir* (minister) to *rais* (chief). Qazi Mohammad himself became merely the leader of the party (Pishwa-i-Hizb-i-Dimokrat-i-Kurd). The villages were run by their old landlords and tribal leaders with the aid of a gendarmerie locally recruited and dressed in Kurdish costume, but commanded by officers from Mahabad with Soviet uniforms. Mahabad itself, from a typically drab Persian provincial town, had become picturesque and colorful, its streets thronging with Kurds in national costume, free for the moment of the hated Iranian soldiers and gendarmes.

⁹ The Kurdish liaison officer was "Colonel" Mohammad Nanavazadeh, one of the original founders of the Komala, later killed when the Iranian army plane in which he was traveling crashed near Baneh.

Those who had an opportunity to meet Qazi Mohammad could not fail to be impressed with his personality, and easily understood how he had become a symbol for Kurdish nationalists everywhere. A short man of fifty, dressed in an old army overcoat, he had a lightly bearded, ascetic face, slightly yellowish in complexion from a stomach complaint. He neither smoked nor drank and ate very little. His voice was gentle and well-modulated, his gestures quiet but effective. Something of an internationalist, he was interested in all the peoples of the world and knew many languages, including Russian, a little English, and Esperanto. His desk was customarily littered with grammars and readers and literary works in foreign tongues.

He seemed to be a man of deep convictions, backed with a rare courage and self-sacrifice, but tempered with broad-mindedness and moderation. During the period in question, at least, his demands were moderate: Kurdish autonomy within the Iranian state. He professed to share the view of many Kurds that since they were members of the same Iranian racial family as the Persians proper, there was no reason why they could not form the same combination as did the ancient Medes and Persians. Qazi himself thought the Kurds were the descendants of the Medes, and liked to give his own etymology of Mahabad — "abode of the Medes."

Yet it would be impossible to deny that he and his followers also held pan-Kurdish aspirations and hoped to make Mahabad the center of Kurdish culture and the Kurdish nationalist movement, replacing Syria and Suleimania, its centers at the present time. Great efforts were being made to put Kurdish education on a sound footing. At first Kurdish teachers had to translate from Persian textbooks orally in the classroom, but shortly before the fall of the Kurdish Republic, textbooks in Kurdish had been printed for the primary grades. In addition to a newspaper and a political monthly periodical, both called *Kurdistan*, there were published two primarily literary magazines, *Havar* and *Hilal*.¹⁰ All of these were printed on a press presented by the Red Army to

¹⁰ A number of other Kurdish periodicals had been published during the Komala period, such as *Kelavizh* and notably *Nishteman*, official organ of the party, which bore a picture of Saladin on the cover and circulated in Iraq as well as Iran.

the Democrat Party of Kurdistan. The importance Qazi Mohammad attached to literature and the Kurdish language may be adduced from the presence on his staff of two young poets, Hazhar and Hieman, whose poems were published in spite of the paper shortage.

Although these efforts did not suffice during the republic's short life to bring it anywhere near the standard of the other two centers of Kurdish culture where Kurdish has been freely written and taught for twenty-five years, politically at least Mahabad was the focal point toward which all Kurdish eyes now were turned. In intellectual Kurdish circles in Beirut, Istanbul, and Baghdad, as well as among the wild mountains of western Asia, all were watching to see whether Qazi Mohammad would succeed or fail. Couriers brought communications to him from groups of Kurds not only in Iraq but in Syria and Turkey as well. His movement appealed especially to the young people, who felt that the older nationalist parties had not accomplished much. In Iraq, for instance, a new secret party, the leftist "Ruzgari," was formed of these elements.

ANTI-SOVIET SENTIMENT

The old nationalist parties, the Hewa in Iraq and the Khoybun in Syria, were not enthusiastic about Qazi Mohammad because of his Soviet connections. Fear and even hatred of the Soviets among the Kurds is strong for several reasons. In the first place, most Kurds are deeply religious and remain distrustful of the Soviet attitude toward religion. Furthermore, many of them have met refugees fresh from the Soviet Union or have talked to Moslems in the Red Army, few of whom paint a rosy picture of the lot of Oriental peoples under Soviet rule. It must also be remembered that the Russians have been traditional enemies of the Kurds since the days of the Tsars. Russian troops in World War I fought over a large part of Kurdistan, leaving a trail of ruin and depopulation still traceable in many Kurdish valleys and villages. In Mahabad itself, Russian troops had been under orders for several days to shoot anyone appearing in the streets, and the town was looted and burned. None of this has been erased from the long oriental memories of the Kurds, who still frighten their crying

children into silence by threatening them with the word "Russian."

The Soviets tried hard to counteract this unreceptive attitude. They played up "Kurdish autonomy" in the Soviet Union, and the brave deeds of one Samand Siamandov, Red Army colonel of Kurdish origin, "Hero of Leningrad." How much success they had is hard to judge, but certainly large sections of the population, as well as landlords, merchants, and religious leaders, continued to distrust them and to extend this distrust to Qazi Mohammad, whose connection with the Soviets was undeniable. The walls of the building in which his government was housed were plastered solidly with Soviet propaganda posters; his newspapers and magazines contained a large proportion of Soviet material translated word for word into Kurdish; and his poets composed panegyrics to Stalin and the Red Army.

Yet in contrast to the rest of Azerbaijan, Kurdistan was to outside appearances free of Soviet agents. Aside from a few Iran-sovtrans truck drivers, who acted as observers for the Soviet and pro-Soviet governments, Soviet citizens were almost unknown in the area and Soviet agents kept under cover. There was said to be a Soviet representative in residence in Mahabad, though his presence was denied by Kurdish authorities.¹¹ Hashumov, Soviet Consul in Rezaieh, and his assistant Aliakbarov made occasional trips to Mahabad.

While terrorism reigned unchecked in eastern Azerbaijan, in Kurdistan there were few if any political prisoners and only one or two cases of what may have been political assassination, though a number of Kurds not in sympathy with the regime did flee to Tehran. In the streets of Mahabad one could hear radio broadcasts from Ankara or London, while in Tabriz to listen to these brought the death penalty. Whether the reason for this freedom was the moderation and liberalism of Qazi and his cabinet, or the presence of the tribes who would not tolerate violent action against persons connected with them, the net result was to make the regime popular at least among the citizens of Mahabad, who enjoyed their respite from the exactions and oppression they

¹¹ The last of these Soviet advisers, one Asadov, is said to have been in Mahabad until the last days of the republic, when he fled to the Soviet Consulate in Tabriz.

considered to be characteristic of the central Iranian Government.

OPPOSITION OF THE TRIBES

If the Soviets kept their overt interference to a minimum in order to reconcile the tribes to the regime, they were certainly unsuccessful. In addition to historical, social, and religious reasons for the tribes' opposition to the Soviet-supported government, there were strong economic ones. The Kurdish tribesmen depended largely on their tobacco crop for their livelihood, and now that their market in the rest of Iran was cut off they suffered considerable hardship. In certain areas food supplies already strained had to be shared with the destitute Barzanis, who had long outworn their welcome.

This tribal discontent was at its strongest in the south where the deceased Qaranei Agha's son, Mam Aziz, chief of the Mamesh, along with his ally, Bayazid Agha of the Mangur, so openly opposed Qazi Mohammad that the Soviet vice-consul finally came down from Rezaieh and threatened to have the Barzanis sent against them. When Mam Aziz continued to resist, the Barzanis did indeed attack him and he was forced to flee to Iraq with some of his tribesmen. From Rezaieh north, the tribes looked to the leadership of Amr Khan Shikak, who had resigned from his position in Qazi's government as minister of war and for the time being was keeping aloof in Zindasht, his mountain capital southwest of Shahpur. The only tribes Qazi Mohammad could count on were the Gawrik of Mahabad, numbering less than a thousand armed men, and part of the small tribe of Zerza, in the Ushnuieh region. Even Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis did not get on with Qazi Mohammad, who was no longer able to feed them.

Thus it was that Qazi Mohammad, in the face of the increasingly aggressive attitude of the Tehran Government, found himself almost without support. Despite Soviet promises of aid and matériel, in the fall of 1946 Qazi Mohammad was still without either heavy weapons or trained men, or indeed any effective army at all. As Iranian preparations became increasingly obvious, Qazi sent frantic messages to the tribes, his only hope, say-

ing that the Soviets had promised the Kurds their support and demanding that the tribes come to the front to fight the Iranian Army. The tribes refused.

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF IRANIAN CONTROL

Meanwhile, events were moving rapidly. The Tehran Government had been insisting that the Democrats surrender the district of Zenjan, which is not in the province of Azerbaijan. When the Iranians seemed about to back up this demand by force, the Democrats agreed to evacuate the area, and by the end of November it was completely in the hands of the Iranian army. Shortly after midnight, on December 10, the Iranians attacked Democrat positions in the Qaflankuh Pass, south of Mianeh; within twenty-four hours resistance had collapsed and the Democrat leaders were in headlong flight to the Soviet Union, a year to the day after their capture of Tabriz. In his telegram of surrender to Premier Qavam, the Democrat Governor stated that the Kurd commander, Seif Qazi, had been informed of his decision and had been told that he was expected to order his forces to cease hostilities.

On December 13, Qazi Mohammad's brother, Sadr Qazi, a deputy in the Iranian Parliament who had been in Mahabad acting as go-between for his brother and the Iranians, appeared at Miandoab. There he told General Homayuni that the Kurds were ready to receive the Iranian army peacefully. The general said he would move his forces in as soon as the Barzanis were evacuated from the Mahabad area. He sent forward an advance party of pro-government tribesmen, including some of the Dehbokri and the Mamesh and Mangur who had returned from Iraq, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Ghaffari. These were stopped not far from Mahabad by a representative of Qazi Mohammad who said that the agreement with General Homayuni called for occupation of the town by regular troops, not by tribesmen who might cause disorder. The tribesmen finally retired without fighting, and on December 15, 1946, after the Barzanis had withdrawn to Naqadeh, the Iranian army entered Mahabad, thus bringing to an end the year-old Kurdish Republic.

The Iranian army was given a great reception, and Qazi

Mohammad and the army commanders exchanged visits. But on December 17 a number of Kurds were arrested, and the following day Qazi Mohammad, Seif Qazi, and many others were imprisoned. The only members of Qazi's government to remain at liberty were Hajji Baba Sheikh, immune because of his religious standing, and a handful of Kurds who had fled to Iraq or hidden in the villages. In addition to imprisonment, Kurdish leaders were further punished by having tribesmen quartered in their homes, eating at their expense — a time-honored Iranian method of imposing a fine without holding a trial. On December 30, Sadr Qazi, who had returned to Tehran, was brought from his home to Mahabad and imprisoned with his brother, although he had throughout the year left Tehran only when his services as mediator were required by the Iranian Government. The army asked all persons who had grievances against the prisoners to present their evidence, and after an examination by a military court condemned Qazi Mohammad, Seif Qazi, and Sadr Qazi to death. At dawn on March 31, 1947, they were hanged in the square of Mahabad.

The Iranian military government has carried out a program to eradicate all traces of Qazi Mohammad's regime. The Kurdish printing press was closed, the teaching of Kurdish prohibited, and all books in Kurdish were publicly burned. To show the tribes it meant business, the army executed eleven petty tribal chiefs of the Faizollah Begi and the Gawrik of Saqqiz.

One feature in the reconquest of Mahabad needs to be noted. Everywhere else in Azerbaijan, peasants, workers, and shopkeepers massacred the Democrats at the first indication of their collapse. This spontaneous reaction clearly indicated the hatred felt by the people for the regime. Yet in Mahabad, all passed peacefully, a circumstance especially remarkable in that elsewhere in Azerbaijan the secret police was strong and prepared for such emergencies, while Qazi Mohammad did not even have such an instrument. This fact would tend to confirm reports that Qazi Mohammad's regime was popular — at least in his own capital.

In the north, Amr Khan and the tribes under his influence took no active part in these events. The Iranian army, evidently not

wishing to incur obligations, had not informed Amr Khan of its projected move into Azerbaijan, and so by the time he had gathered his tribesmen to attack the Democrats, the war was over. Amr Khan and the other chiefs quickly sent the Iranian commander professions of loyalty. All were accepted back in the fold except Zero Beg, whose tribesmen ambushed some Iranian soldiers in Balanesh, near Rezaieh, while he was conferring there with General Hodayuni. Zero consequently had to flee, accompanied by a few tribesmen and Assyrians, to Ushnuieh, where he found Mulla Mustafa and his Barzanis in a state of precarious truce with the Central Government. The Mulla finally refused the government's order to disarm his tribesmen or return to Iraq, and fighting broke out again. By June 1947 the Barzanis had fought their way north to Maku and seemed about to cross the border into the Soviet Union.

IN SUMMARY

This latest attempt to found a Kurdish state ended with the Iranian occupation of Mahabad. Like previous attempts it failed largely because of disunity among the Kurds themselves. One of the dilemmas of Kurdish nationalism is that while not only its leaders, but nearly all its rank and file, must come from the more enlightened townspeople, its military strength has always had to come from the tribes and their chiefs, with neither the education nor the imagination to look for anything but gain and loot in the weakening of government authority. During 1946 the Kurdish tribes, naturally opposed to government control, felt as restive under Qazi Mohammad as they had under the Central Government, even though he was of their own race. Because of this feeling, as well as their distrust of Qazi's Soviet connections, the tribes almost all sided with the Iranian army.

The principal immediate reason for the collapse of the republic was the failure of Soviet support to materialize. A young and strong nationalist party which might have united a majority of educated Kurds was infiltrated by foreigners who used it for their own purposes and then let it be destroyed. The miniature state had been built under the protection of the Red Army, and continued to exist after its evacuation only because of the possibility

of its return. When the Kurds no longer hoped for this, and the Iranians no longer feared it, there was no chance for Qazi Mohammad's movement to survive.

The whole episode was a serious blow to the development of Kurdish nationalism. There is now no Komala and no Democrat Party of Kurdistan, and many of the potential leaders of the Kurds are dead, in prison, or in exile. Yet this does not mean that Kurdish nationalism is finished. The Kurdish Republic found its support among those progressive elements of the population which seem bound to increase in numbers and importance, and was opposed by those elements which seem destined to disappear. It remains to be seen whether Kurdish nationalism is practical in an area where, until recently, nationalism was an unknown conception and men still give primary allegiance to their religious and tribal chiefs. The Kurds have never been combined in a stable state of their own and enjoy no ancient unifying culture. Separated from each other by mountain barriers, they have always had to look for their cultural and economic needs to the capitals of the different states in which they have lived.

If the states the Kurds inhabit allow their Kurdish populations a degree of local autonomy and give up the attempt to force an alien nationalism upon them, they may succeed in obtaining a loyalty similar to that found in Switzerland with its multinational population. The Arab countries have made a start in this direction. A similar policy in Iran, if left free of foreign penetration, might be a cause of closer unity rather than of separatism between two of the nation's peoples.

ISLAMIC AND WESTERN THOUGHT IN TURKEY

Abdulhak Adnan Adıvar

THE INTERACTION of Islamic and Western thought, a subject of peculiar importance at the present time, is a process begun more than a thousand years ago. It presents a problem which has concerned the Turks no less than the Arabs, since the Turks occupied the forefront of the Islamic world for over five centuries. Foreign, in a sense, to both Islamic and European cultures, the Turks were well placed to effect some form of synthesis of the two civilizations. In this they largely failed, primarily through an inability to shake off the dogmatism of Islam. The attempt is still in process, however, possibly now with greater urgency and promise of success than in any time of the past.

The Turks came into contact with Greek, that is Occidental, thought only after their global conversion to Islam in the early years of the eleventh century, and then only through the works of philosophers who wrote in Arabic. During the early years of the Islamic era they had remained frankly skeptical of Islam's continued success, but the evident ability of the Arab state to organize its economic and social affairs exerted an inevitable attraction over them. Moreover, the monotheistic, realistic, military character of Islam suited the Turkish temperament. Once converted, the Turks became not only passionate defenders of their new faith against other religions, but at the same time oppo-

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nents of all heterodox sects and schisms within Islam itself.

According to al-Biruni, the famed mathematician of the eleventh century, Islamic culture was then becoming an extension of Greek culture. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that this Greek influence was largely sterile; philosophers talked, wrote, discussed theological and philosophic problems, but Islamic thought did not develop in any notable way except among certain heterodox sects, and among those liberal spirits known in the history of Islam as al-Mutazilah, or rationalist schismatics.

Of the Islamic philosophers who attempted to reconcile Islamic concepts, as expressed in the Koran, with both Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy, mention must be made of al-Farabi, whose Turkish origin is incontestable. He was the first Moslem philosopher to give a high place to Neoplatonism in Oriental philosophy; he was the first, moreover, to present the problem of the relation of revelation to scientific reasoning. He was the first as well to recognize the part played by mystical experience in religion, thus exhibiting interest in both major aspects of Islamic thought: orthodoxy and mysticism.

Al-Farabi's own teaching took a dogmatic turn and aided in the gradual crystallization of Islamic orthodoxy, a process completed by the work of al-Ghazzali in the twelfth century. Mystical thought, however, persisted until modern times, finally developing into a type of pantheism. An outcome of intuition and emotion rather than of reason, it was expressed in the form of brotherhoods professing various types of asceticism. But it, too, eventually lost its philosophical character and vitality as living thought, and turned into something rigid and mechanical.

Islamic thought was at this stage in the thirteenth century, when the high plateau of Asia Minor had come to be dominated by the Turkish Seljuks of Rum, the immediate predecessors of the Ottoman Turks and the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Turkey. In the Seljuk schools, or *medrese's*, the only sciences taught were jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and theology, always in a dogmatic form, always conforming to the precepts of the Koran and to the Traditions of the Prophet. In the second half of the century the great Sufi poet and philosopher, Jalal al-Din-i-Rumi, living at Konya, in the very heart of Asia Minor, spoke disdain-

fully of the ignorance which reigned in philosophical matters. It is evident that neither rational science nor speculative Greek philosophy in its true sense was then apparent in the lands which constitute the Turkey of today.

In the fifteenth century, one hundred and fifty years after the foundation of the Ottoman Empire, Moslem thought was still represented in the *medresè* only by the study of theology, rhetoric, and jurisprudence; philosophy and rational science, the two pillars of Greek thought re-erected by the Oriental philosophers of the ninth and tenth centuries, were shaken, if not completely demolished. Aside from a few rare exceptions, we can discern no sign of that critical and philosophical spirit which characterized Greek philosophy.

It was at this moment that a young man of twenty-three, Mehmet the Conqueror, established a closer contact with his European neighbors by penetrating to the last frontiers of Byzantium. In the month of May 1453, he entered Constantinople over the ruins of the last rampart of Western civilization in the East. This young monarch, gifted with a keen intellectual curiosity developed through his relations with the Moslem heretical Hurufi sect, presently turned his attention to the peripatetic school of philosophy and Greek science which shook the very foundations of medieval scholastic thought in Western Europe. The young sultan's curiosity, extending even to the study of Christian theology, made him at times appear to Western Christendom as an aspirant to the Christian faith. But what Mehmet really desired was to make a comparative study of the two great religions, as well as of metaphysics, and thus to find out the difference between revelation and reason. Scholastic philosophy and Greek science were both intensively studied during his reign. Symposi-ums, to which the greatest native and foreign scholars were invited and during which metaphysical and philosophical problems were under discussion, became frequent events, lasting sometimes for days. In brief, this man of the East and West was trying to create a true interaction of Islamic and Western culture and was making a sincere effort to replace dogmatic by critical thought.

But it must be admitted that the efforts of this intelligent and

intellectual monarch did not produce lasting results, and that Turkey once more returned to the obscurantism of the Middle Ages which was to continue until the nineteenth, even the twentieth century. During the two and a half centuries that passed between the conquest of Constantinople and the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699), Turkish armies marched on to central Europe, establishing contacts with Western nations; but these military incursions failed to bring about intellectual contact between the two worlds. On the contrary, the critical spirit of modern times, that is of the Renaissance, retreated before the dogmatic spirit which then reigned supreme in the lands of Islam.

Turkey reached the limits of its territorial expansion in the sixteenth century, during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent. The cultivation of philosophical and scientific thought did not keep pace, however, with the political and administrative development of this age of splendor and glory. One may once more observe with a recent writer that the golden age of culture does not necessarily coincide with that of national expansion.¹ For even after these territorial conquests the dogmatic side of Moslem thought held its ground, leaving no opportunity for the development of a renaissance spirit in Turkey. The seventeenth century geographer and polygrapher, Katib Chelebi (known as Hajji Khalfah to westerners) in his *Mizan al-Hak*, an apology for ancient philosophy and science, complains bitterly of the state of mind which had driven these branches of human knowledge from Turkey's institutions of learning. He expresses his disapproval of the mentality in a significant sentence: "Henceforth, people will be looking at the universe with the eyes of oxen." This finds further illustration in the fact that the astronomical system of Copernicus was mentioned for the first time in 1685, in the Turkish translation of Blau's *Atlas Major*, and then only in a few lines.

The date in Ottoman history which marks the beginning of a contact, if not exactly with Western thought at least with Western technique, is perhaps 1716, when there was a tentative reform in the Turkish army. To meet the requirements of this elementary reform, modern mathematics was introduced into the

¹ A. L. Kroeber, *Configurations of Culture Growth* (Berkeley, Calif., 1944), pp. 790-5.

curriculum of the Military Engineering School. In 1728, the great Turkish editor and printer, Ibrahim Muteferrika, founded the first printing press and began rather timidly to publish works, written or edited by him, dealing with Western science and culture. But even he speaks with reserve of Copernicus' heliocentric system, remarking that he had added an excursus on these new theories in his edition of the *Fihannuma* of Hajji Khalfah with the purpose of furnishing an occasion to Moslem scholars to refute them, and consequently to fortify the basis of the Ptolemaic system, so dear to them all.

It was only with the advent of the French Revolution that a new ideology appeared on the horizon. This politico-intellectual movement of the modern world interested Sultan Selim III and drew his attention to Western culture, although exclusively to the sciences relevant to military art. In the early part of the nineteenth century a modern medical school was opened, emphasizing mostly medical technique, a development which was, however, still insufficient to represent Western thought in its essence.

Finally there came in 1839 the beginning of a much more essential reform period known as the "Tanzimat," or period of "Organization and Reform." Its influence was felt in all aspects of political life from individual rights to the organization of tribunals; it even penetrated Turkish social customs. Considering that science had now become a part of the teaching in the schools, and that Western thought had at last come in contact with Moslem thought, one might assume that there would be an interaction of the two outlooks in which both would be duly represented. Yet the interaction still did not take place, for the persisting autocratic and theocratic character of the state did not allow a free interchange of opinion between the partisans of the two systems of thought. On the contrary, this period, which was to continue until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, was marked by a desire to defend the theological precepts of Islam against modern science. This desire was so intense and so characteristic of the age that it may be termed a new era of apology in Islam. Even the "modern" authors, the intelligentsia who had travelled and studied in the West, did not hesitate to defend those very religious ideas which appeared contrary to scientific fact.

Considering their westernized culture, these writers could not have believed in the ideas which they defended in their apologies. Possibly their attitude was a result of official censorship and of the moral pressure which rose to the defense of the old order. The dogmatic side of Islamic thought was immune from attack, for contemporary writers did not dare even to question it. Official pressure against the penetration of Western thought was such that toward the end of Abdul Hamid II's reign, just before the Revolution of 1908, the very word *hikmet* (philosophy) was taken out of the dictionaries by order of the government.

But it is more than probable that in spite of all these apologies and fervent declarations against free thought, in spite of all the official pressure, Western ideas were being propagated. We might cite the characteristic case of a so-called apologist, Ahmet Midhat, who translated J. W. Draper's *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science*. In his excursus added to refute Draper's ideas, he deliberately affirms that there is nothing contrary to science in Islam.

Incidents such as this strengthen one in the conclusion that most of the Turkish intellectuals of the Tanzimat period retained their Oriental mentality and culture, with all the associated and antiquated beliefs, while adopting the technical side of modern life. Quite a few among them had the courage to attempt a reconciliation between Islamic beliefs and modern science, but unfortunately their syncretism did not succeed. The only institution, though short-lived, which did not attempt anything of this sort but was devoted entirely to Western thought, was the Ottoman Society of Science (1897-98). It gathered around it Turkish scholars who knew at least one European language and started the *Mecmua-i-Funun*, the "Review of Science," the first publication in Turkish in which one could read independently written articles on modern philosophy. Since the principal collaborators of the *Mecmua-i-Funun* had studied in England, most of their essays were inspired by Anglo-Saxon works. They approached a scientific or philosophical question without taking into consideration the religious dogmatism of the official scholars (*ulema-i-rusum*). Unfortunately, this society did not last long and the review also passed away. But as long as the movement lasted,

its supreme characteristic continued to be its independence of the dogmatic thought cultivated in the *medrese*, and its refusal to fall in with any sort of futile syncretism.

After the disappearance of the *Mecmua-i-Funun*, the government of Abdul Hamid II suppressed all expression of philosophical ideas, that is to say, of thought itself. Hence in the last days of the period known as the Tanzimat, one finds no serious interaction of Oriental and Occidental philosophical thought in Turkey. Nevertheless, in spite of all these obstacles, Western thought was gaining ground in literature thanks to the literary school called the *Servet-i-Funun* and the review named after it.

In 1908 the Young Turk Revolution broke out in an exclusively political form. Intellectual activity followed suit when philosophy and the comparative study of religions were admitted to the curriculum of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Istanbul. Political liberty having cleared the way for freedom of investigation, a critical study of religious thought became possible. In the very first year of the new constitutional regime, young writers began to translate the works of the somewhat naive materialists of the nineteenth century, such as Ludwig Büchner and Ernest Haeckel. Voltaire and Rousseau, as well as the other Encyclopedists of the eighteenth century, also became fashionable and their works were freely discussed.

Concurrently a religious revival made itself felt among the conservative section of the intellectual circles as well as among the writers of a new school of apologists, and foreshadowed the beginning of a conflict between the already irreconcilable groups. At this time the dogmatic and the critical schools of thought had not yet developed a formalized position toward each other. Though one might say that Western thought had taken an aggressive attitude toward Moslem thought, the conflict was not too apparent, each taking a reserved, or rather an ill-disguised hypocritical point of view toward the other.

In the midst of this incertitude, a Turkish sociologist, Ziya Gökalp, assumed the role of mediator between the antagonistic groups, attempting in his writings to find some ground of reconciliation between Western scientific thought and the purely religious Moslem thought. A faithful follower of Durckheim, he

proposed to make a distinction between civilization and culture. His idea was that Turkey should adopt Western civilization yet retain a national culture, both without alteration. He differed from his predecessors by trying to bring about a synthesis rather than a syncretism. He repeatedly advised his countrymen not to neglect either Islam and Islamic culture or Western civilization.

While Gökalp clearly stated that it was necessary to adopt all of positive science and its technique, he was not at all clear on the subject of philosophy. He went so far as to say that the Turks were to have a national philosophy, but he said nothing on what that philosophy was to be. He himself was saturated with both the sociology of Durckheim and the spiritual philosophy of Bergson, but never attempted to reconcile the two — a task which would have been most difficult indeed.

Ziya Gökalp's teachings had a profound influence not only over his own disciples but also over the members of the Young Turk Central Committee of Union and Progress, most of whom were his political friends. It was owing to him that family law, fashioned in the past by Moslem jurisprudence (*fiqh*), was now modified according to the ancient but more liberal interpretation of the Moslem doctors of law. He did not conceal his intention of undertaking a religious reform, stating on several occasions that even Christianity had not been able to reconcile itself to modern civilization before the Reformation. The movement expressed itself in the *Yeni Mejmua*, a review subsidized by the Committee of Union and Progress in spite of the theocratic character of the state, the head of which was the Khalif uniting in his person both spiritual and temporal power.

Ziya Gökalp's most unfortunate mistake was the erroneous translation of the word "laic" as "ladini" (irreligious), an error that did much to lead the Moslem clergy, with the Sheikh al-Islam at their head, into a hostile attitude. The reactionary point of view, though hidden in the form of an apology, was expressed in another magazine published at the time, the *Sirat-i-Mustakim*, later called the *Sebil al-Reshad*, which rained invectives on the heads of the partisans of the liberal movement led by Gökalp. This particular period in Turkish history was dominated by violent and sudden changes of governments and quasi-reaction-

ary uprisings of the opposition, a part of whose political game was to stir the Moslem Turks against the Union and Progress government by castigating the party's modest attempt at modernization as anti-Moslem heresies and atheisms. Persecution of the liberals served only to strengthen their faith and spread their ideas, with the result that during this period a real interaction of Moslem and Western thought was at last under way.

After 1912 the successive wars in Tripoli, the Balkans, and finally all Europe left no leisure to the young liberal group of the *Yeni Mecmua* for intellectual activity. With the armistice an absolute indifference to everything, a sense of being "fed up," coupled with an intellectual opportunism, seems to have taken hold of the reformers. Turks then witnessed the domination of occupation forces of Western Europe. Though the occupation army encouraged the emancipation of women, it came to an understanding with the political and religious reactionaries, and supported the most fanatical precepts of Islam, which were offered as a kind of spiritual nourishment to a people embittered by the misery and the suffering three successive wars had brought.

The puppet Turkish government of those days, established and sustained by the occupying forces, whipped up the religious and fanatic sentiments of the people in order to counteract popular risings in the different provinces of the country, risings which were to turn into a strong, organized movement for liberation and independence. This movement finally developed into the great struggle for liberation which after four desperate years ended in final victory. While engaged in this struggle for life and death, the Turks had no time to argue such cultural questions as the conflict or interaction of Islamic and Western thought; on the contrary the liberation movement took a tolerant, even a soft attitude toward the insolent and at times dangerous clergy in order to enlist their help.

The new Turkish Government, once firmly established in Ankara, abolished the Sultanate in 1923, leaving the Khalif in Istanbul without temporal power. Two years later the Khalifate also was abolished, together with the tribunals of the Canon Law and all other religious institutions in the country. The *medrese's*

and *tekke*'s, the latter a kind of convent for religious brotherhoods, were not spared in this sweeping abolition, and the principle of laicism was established as a special article in the constitution of the Republic. The apologists were not inactive, however. They went on defending Islamic thought and faith, trying at the same time to reconcile them with natural and scientific laws, and emphasizing the true meaning of laicism. This was a praiseworthy effort in a way, for it demanded tolerance from both sides, hitherto antagonistic. But the young Republic had no intention of making any concession whatsoever to Islamic thought, though it tolerated the traditional religious practices of the people. The domination of Western thought, or rather of the positivism of the West, was at that time so intense that one can hardly call it thought. It should be termed rather the "official dogma of ir-religion"; to paraphrase the imaginative language of Professor H. A. R. Gibb, Turkey became a positivistic mausoleum.³

The Republic has never ceased to declare itself the citadel of scientific positivism and of the positivist school of thought. The entire mechanism of the state, by common accord, has been trying to put into its different institutions the positivist formula — the Good, the Beautiful, and the True — as a new doctrine. Within the last twenty years the vast majority of Turkish youth has been brought up without any official religious teaching, Western positivism being imposed on it just as Islamic dogma had been imposed in the past.

At the present moment the New Thought has assumed much the same position as was formerly occupied by the old Islamic dogma. It is thus still impossible to point to any period in the history of ideas in Turkey when a free and critical spirit has stimulated an interaction of Islamic and Western thought for any length of time. There has, indeed, been no true interaction in Turkey, but rather merely an action of Western thought on that country.

In December 1946, two deputies to the Turkish National Assembly rose during the budget discussions of the Department of Education and asked a question regarding the fate of religious institutions, and specifically of the teaching of the Moslem cate-

³ H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (Chicago, 1947), p. 20.

chism by private individuals, in view of the fact that these particular teachings are not favorably regarded by the government and private individuals do not dispose of the means necessary to procure teachers. The answer of the government to this question was evasive, since it feared the possibility of a religious reaction which might endanger the well-established reforms of the Republic. But a few days later this important and significant discussion was taken up in the Central Committee of the governmental party. This event, which would not be considered as anything out of the way in the West, is of supreme significance in Turkey today, for within the last twenty years or so no such discussion has been possible in political or even in cultural gatherings of any sort.

When a free, critical spirit makes itself felt in Turkey, the interaction of Western and Islamic thought will be accomplished in a more concrete, clear, and lasting form; and it is quite possible that such a sudden interaction may produce a religious and philosophical reform within the laic framework of the Republic. Only when a reform of this kind comes about will Turkey be able to combine the streams of its cultural heritage and evolve an integrated intellectual movement.

EGYPT, GREAT BRITAIN, AND THE SUDAN

An Egyptian View

Mohamed Awad

ANGLO-EGYPTIAN relations have never been better than they were when World War II broke out in September 1939. The Treaty of Alliance of 1936 had gone far toward preparing the two countries for close and friendly co-operation if and when a crisis came. Yet by the spring of 1947, after victory over a common enemy, relations between the two countries had reached a state of discord profoundly disturbing to responsible Egyptians and Britishers alike. The crux of this latest controversy is the future of the Sudan, a subject largely left in abeyance by the treaty of 1936 but lying at the heart of what has come to be known as the "Egyptian Question": the conflict of British imperial interests with the natural desire of the Egyptians to be masters of their own destiny.

Developments in the course of World War II brought about this strain in relations by creating conditions and situations far beyond those provided for by the treaty of 1936. What touched the people most closely was the constant presence of increasing numbers of Allied, but nevertheless foreign, troops in Egypt. The conduct of British forces in the early months of the war was satisfactory. But as hostilities dragged on and their numbers increased from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands, it was perhaps inevitable that their presence should have given reason

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for complaint. Every difficulty and inconvenience, including the soaring cost of living, was attributed by the Egyptian people to the presence of the armies.

The British authorities in Cairo were led to carry out measures which even the exigencies of war could scarcely justify. Most unfortunate among these was the incident of February 4, 1942, when armored units of the British army surrounded the King's palace in order to force the immediate appointment of a particular government. Reminiscent of the ultimatum of 1924,¹ this act did inestimable harm in alienating the sympathies of even those Egyptians known for their pro-British sentiments.

During the war several Middle Eastern countries, notably Iran, Syria, and Lebanon, were assured that they would gain their complete independence after hostilities had ceased, and that all foreign troops would be withdrawn from their territories.² Although Egypt aided materially in the prosecution of the war, it was given no such assurances. Egyptians naturally came to feel that the position of their country under the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance was inferior to that of other Middle Eastern countries whose share in the Allied war effort they considered less significant than their own. The incongruity of this situation was heightened by the leading role which Egypt played in the formation of the Arab League late in 1944. During the war, also, the Egyptians had come to regard the Atlantic Charter as a promise of better conditions for all peoples; and the United Nations Charter, in the formulation of which Egypt had taken a part, as presupposing the removal of the limitations upon Egyptian sovereignty imposed by the treaty.³

¹ Presented to the Egyptian Government following the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, Governor-General of the Sudan and Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, the ultimatum stated that "this murder . . . holds up Egypt as at present governed to the contempt of civilized peoples." It accused the Egyptian Government of allowing the Governor-General to be murdered, and of proving that it was incapable or unwilling to protect foreign lives. For discussion and text of the ultimatum, see Arnold J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs, 1925* (London, 1927), vol. 1, pp. 212 ff.

² In the case of Iran, by the Tripartite (Iran-USSR-Great Britain) Treaty of Alliance, Jan. 29, 1942 (for text see *American Journal of International Law*, XXXVI [1942], supplement, pp. 175-9); and by the Declaration of the Three Powers Regarding Iran, Dec. 7, 1943 (for text see the *New York Times*, Mar. 25, 1947). In the case of Syria and Lebanon, by the proclamation of General Catroux to the Syrians and Lebanese, June 8, 1941 (for text see Albert H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon: A Political Essay* [London, 1946], pp. 371-2).

³ The 1936 Treaty of Alliance provided for the stationing of up to 10,000 British troops on Egyptian territory in the vicinity of the Suez Canal, and required the King of Egypt to furnish the

With the expulsion of Axis troops from Africa and the subsequent Allied victory in Europe and Asia, the people of Egypt looked forward to the gradual disappearance of foreign troops from their territory. When this failed to develop, and when it began to appear that the Egyptian Government could not force their removal or even control their behavior, the treaty of 1936 was further discredited in Egyptian eyes as an instrument for the regulation of Anglo-Egyptian relations. A demand for its revision was raised both through diplomatic channels and through the more violent medium of daily public demonstrations which often led to further friction and incidents between the troops and the people.

Early in 1946 the British Labor Government at last agreed to Egyptian demands for a reconsideration of the 1936 treaty. The British Ambassador, whose association with the incident of February 4, 1942, had caused him to be *persona non grata* with the Egyptians, was removed. A special deputation arrived from London toward the middle of April and opened negotiations with an Egyptian delegation headed by Prime Minister Sidqi Pasha but including many political leaders who were not members of the government.

Soon after the negotiations got under way, the British Government announced that it intended to remove all military, naval, and air forces from Egypt, subject to the establishment of a scheme of joint defense in which both Egypt and Britain should participate.⁴ The promise was welcome to the Egyptians. Agreement in principle on both the subjects of evacuation and joint defense measures was eventually reached, and provision for them was incorporated in two protocols attached to the draft treaty drawn up in October during the London meetings of Prime Minister Sidqi Pasha and the British Foreign Secretary. Even though negotiations for a general revision of the treaty subsequently reached an impasse and were broken off, the British carried through the evacuation of troops from Cairo, Alexandria, and the Delta, completing the operation in March 1947.

British "all the facilities and assistance in his power" in case of war or the threat of war. For text see Stephen Heald, ed., *Documents on International Affairs, 1936* (London, 1937), pp. 478-89.

⁴ *New York Times*, May 8, 1946.

Agreement on these military clauses was effected through a compromise involving the establishment of a Joint Defense Council and the limiting of co-operative action to cases of aggression against Egypt or a neighboring country. No such compromise, however, was possible on the third question to be raised—that of the future of the Sudan. Previous treaty negotiations had evaded the issue; even the treaty of 1936 did little more than postpone it to a later period, when a "new convention" might be concluded. Recent developments, however, have complicated the question, and the Egyptians feel that a definite solution cannot be deferred much longer.

Although in theory the Sudan is subject to a condominium, or joint Anglo-Egyptian rule, the Egyptians have no share whatever in the government of the country. The Egyptians at present possess no means of directly influencing the Sudanese people. The Sudan Government even has the power, which it has not failed to exercise, to exclude Egyptian newspapers and other publications. During the war, the Sudan Government carried out fundamental changes in the administration of the country without referring the matter to Egypt. In particular it created a kind of Advisory Council whose members were nominated by the Governor-General. Egyptians looked upon the creation of this body as an attempt to influence public opinion in the Sudan against Egypt at a time when the Sudanese are becoming politically conscious and are anxious to have a voice in determining the fate of their country.

There are at present two political parties of significance in the Sudan: the Umma (Nationalists), under the leadership of Abd al-Rahman Pasha, son of the Mahdi;^{*} and the Ashigga (Brothers), under the leadership of a group of Sudanese intelligentsia long organized as the "Congress of Graduates."

Abd al-Rahman Pasha went to London in the winter of 1946-47 to plead the case of the Umma Party, which wants complete separation from Egypt. His newspapers have continued to publish anti-Egyptian propaganda, and although several attempts at conciliation with pro-Egyptian groups have been made, little success has been achieved in this direction. The favor which

^{*} In 1881-85 the Mahdi led a successful revolt against Egyptian rule in the Sudan.

Great Britain has shown Abd al-Rahman and the Umma Party, believed by many Egyptians to have been created through British instigation, has gone far toward alienating particularly the followers of Sheikh Marghani, undoubtedly the greatest religious leader of the Sudan and a man universally respected for his piety and devotion. Sheikh Marghani has never played a political role, but not unnaturally cannot help being perturbed lest the ascendancy of the Mahdi's son lead to a recurrence of Mahdist excesses.

The Ashigga has formulated a program aiming at full autonomy for the Sudan under the Egyptian Crown. Together with other pro-Egyptian groups, it argues that in view of the historical association, cultural and religious connections, and the community of interests of the two countries, a separation would be disastrous for both. Since February 1946, these parties have maintained a special delegation in Cairo. Its presence in the Egyptian capital is a constant reminder to the Egyptians that the question of the Sudan cannot be shelved this time as in previous negotiations, and thus constitutes a new and a very important factor in the situation.

As regards the relative importance of the Ashigga and Umma, of those wishing for union with Egypt and those opposing it, a correspondent of the London *Times*, writing in January 1947,⁶ was convinced that the Ashigga constitutes the larger party, and that it preponderates in all the larger towns as well as in the east and north of the Sudan, while the stronghold of the Umma is in the west among the cattle-raising tribes of southern Darfur and Kordofan, who are all followers of the Mahdi. The same writer mentions that the core of the Ashigga consists of Sudanese descendants of mixed Egyptian and Sudanese marriages. By this he probably means that the party is not composed of "pure" Sudanese. But he has unintentionally given expression to a fundamental fact in the whole Sudan question, namely the close ethnic relationship between the two countries, born of intimate association that goes back some forty centuries. If recent family relationships have produced the dominant party in the Sudan today this is but the modern manifestation of a process which has been going on throughout history with little interruption.

⁶ London *Times*, Jan. 24, 25, 1947.

Egypt's desire for a permanent union with the Sudan does not rest merely upon historical connection, religious, linguistic and ethnic affinities, and mutual economic interests. Nor does it rest primarily upon the fact that unity of Egypt and the Sudan was an established political reality before the British appeared in the Upper Nile Valley. The most important consideration has always been that Egypt must possess the strongest guarantee that its water supply is not to be interfered with.

The British are not trusted by the Egyptians to give such guarantees. British authorities themselves have given the best expression to Egyptian anxiety in this matter. A distinguished British officer was quoted in the House of Commons on March 28, 1895, as saying, "If I were the Mahdi, I would make Egypt pay for every quart of water which runs down the Nile." A great British engineer, Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, carried the point further: "As for diverting the Nile in the Sudan and depriving Egypt of its water, what the Mahdi could not do, a civilised people could do. It is very evident that the civilised possessor of the Upper Nile Valley holds Egypt in his grasp . . . and if poor little Egypt had the bad luck to be at war with the people in the upper waters, they might flood Egypt or cut off the water supply at their pleasure."⁷

Lord Milner's opinion on this subject is important. "The savages of the Sudan," he wrote, "may never themselves possess sufficient engineering skill to play tricks with the Nile; but for all that it is an uncomfortable thought that the regular supply of water by the great river, which is to Egypt not a question of convenience and prosperity, but actually of life, must always be exposed to some risk, as long as the Upper reaches of that river are *not under Egyptian control*."⁸

The actions of Britishers regarding the Nile are also far from reassuring to an Egyptian. Immediately before World War I a project was begun in great secrecy for controlling the waters of the Blue Nile by building a dam at Makwar, 175 miles south of Khartoum. The waters to be stored behind this dam were to be employed for the benefit of the Sudan Plantations Syndicate, a

⁷ Leonard Woolf, *Empire and Commerce in Africa* (London, 1919), p. 155.

⁸ Viscount Milner, *England in Egypt* (London, 1920), p. 161. Italics are those of the present writer.

British concern of great influence, and for the prosperity of the Sudan. But there appears to have been another motive behind this great undertaking. We have it on the authority of Sir Valentine Chirol that "Schemes for storing the waters of the Blue and White Nile in the Sudan were prepared under Lord Kitchener's personal direction; and he took the keenest interest in them, not only because they opened up prospects of an almost unlimited supply of water to Egypt as well as the Sudan, but because he saw *what big political issues were bound up with the permanent control from the Sudan of the Nile waters upon which the very existence of Egypt depends.*"⁹

When the Makwar Dam was begun, the British assured Egypt that not more than 300,000 *feddan's* (acres) would be irrigated. But even before its construction was complete, the Egyptian Government was informed in the ultimatum of 1924 that this area would be increased as need might arise "to an unlimited figure."¹⁰ Under such circumstances, it is scarcely unreasonable that the Egyptians will never feel secure so long as the British retain their predominant position in the Sudan.

This discussion of various aspects of the question of the Sudan will help to an understanding as to why this problem led to the breakdown of treaty negotiations. This resulted specifically from the differing interpretations which London and Cairo placed on the Sudan Protocol, to which both Prime Minister Sidqi Pasha and Foreign Minister Bevin had affixed their signatures in October 1946. In view of Sidqi Pasha's limited knowledge of English, it is important that the Protocol be given in the French on which he based his interpretation:¹¹

Protocole Relatif au Soudan

La politique que les Hautes Parties Contractantes s'engagent à suivre au Soudan, dans le cadre de l'Unité de l'Égypte et du Soudan sous une couronne commune, la couronne de l'Égypte, aura pour objectif essentiel le bien être des Soudanais, le développement de leurs intérêts et leur préparation active au self-government et à l'exercice du droit qui en découle de choisir le futur statut du Soudan.

En attendant que les Hautes Parties Contractantes puissent, d'un

⁹ Sir Valentine Chirol, *The Egyptian Problem* (London, 1920), p. 101. Italics are those of the present writer.

¹⁰ Toynbee, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹¹ For the English text of the Sudan Protocol, see the *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), p. 207.

commun accord et après consultation des Soudanais réaliser le dernier objectif, la Convention de 1899 sera maintenue en l'article 11 du Traité de 1936 avec son annexe et les paragraphes 14 et 16 de la note acceptée jointe au dit traité resteront en vigueur nonobstant l'article 1er du présent traité.

It is the first paragraph of this protocol which was interpreted variously in Cairo and in London. Prime Minister Sidqi Pasha argued that the policy to be pursued would always aim at retaining the unity of Egypt and the Sudan, even when the Sudanese came to decide their future status. The British Government, on the other hand, has maintained that this future status could assume any form, including separation from Egypt, and that the policy of unity mentioned in the first paragraph referred only to the interim arrangements. The Egyptians are willing to let the Sudanese people decide now their future status, but they are not prepared to give the British authorities in the Sudan further chance to carry out intensive propaganda against Egypt.

On December 7, 1946, while the two governments were exchanging notes in an attempt to come to some agreement, Sir Hubert Huddleston, the Governor-General of the Sudan, issued a statement in the course of which he said that all educated Sudanese desired to govern their own country. He was determined, he said, that nothing should stand in the way of creating a Sudanese Government, and he asked those who wished to serve their country to co-operate with him and his officials in determining the next step to be taken. The Governor-General further assured the Sudanese that these declarations were given in accordance with written authorization from Mr. Attlee, the British Prime Minister.¹² He thus showed the Egyptians that even while negotiations were still in progress, the British Government was not only determined to have its own interpretation of the Sudan Protocol, but to take immediate steps to carry out a policy based on that interpretation.

A second incident leading to the breakdown concerned the Chief Judgeship of the Religious (Islamic) Courts, a post which has always been occupied by an Egyptian, and was then occupied by a man whose ability, devotion, and learning were admitted by all including the Governor-General himself. It was the only post

¹² *London Times*, Dec. 9, 1946.

of any importance still occupied by an Egyptian, and was considered a symbol of the spiritual relations of the two countries. On December 22 the Governor-General informed the Egyptian Government that the services of the Chief Judge would come to an end on January 2, that his appointment would not be renewed, and that the post would be given to a Sudanese.¹³ At a moment when every effort should have been exerted to maintain a calm atmosphere, the wisdom of this move might well be doubted. The Egyptian Government offered to pay the salary of the Chief Judge out of its own budget; and suggested that another similar post be given to a Sudanese. But even this offer was rejected by the Governor-General, and the Egyptian judge was forced to leave the Sudan on January 10. The post, however, remains vacant because of a technical difficulty: it seems that according to Islamic Law, a non-Moslem cannot make an appointment to a supreme religious post.

The Governor-General again delivered a speech on December 30, at the town of El Obeid, in the course of which he was reported in the Sudan press to have said that the intention of Egypt was to establish effective sovereignty over the Sudan, while the British Government considered that such sovereignty would only be nominal and symbolic; and that he — the Governor-General — wished that even this symbolic sovereignty did not exist; and that if he could get rid of it he would do so. He declared his intention to suppress every kind of Egyptian propaganda in the Sudan, and he again affirmed that he spoke with Mr. Attlee's approval.¹⁴

It was not unnatural that this speech should have been unfavorably received in Egypt. The Sudanese authorities subsequently issued a brief statement that the published version of the speech was inaccurate. The Egyptian demand for the publication of an official version, however, was not granted.

On the following day there was a lively session in the Egyptian Parliament on the question of the Sudan. Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha, who had succeeded Sidqi Pasha on December 10, bitterly criticized the actions of the Sudan Governor-General,

¹³ See reference to this speech in the *New York Times*, Dec. 29, 1946.

¹⁴ *New York Times*, Dec. 31, 1946.

which he interpreted as being aimed at separating the Sudan from Egypt. He made special reference to the three incidents mentioned above. He considered that since the actions of the Governor-General were apparently supported by the British Government, they showed the existence of a deliberate policy to break up the unity of Egypt and the Sudan. Such a policy he considered a hostile act against Egypt. He was therefore asking the British Government to make its position clear on this point, and would await its answer before taking any other steps.¹⁵

In the course of the following three weeks the two governments engaged in considerable diplomatic activity which, however, produced no result. In the meantime the Governor-General of the Sudan went his own way, and was preparing a scheme to be submitted to the Advisory Council for the creation of a separate Sudanese "nationality."¹⁶ Failing to secure any reassuring statement from London, the Egyptian Government finally informed the British Ambassador that the negotiations between the two governments would not continue; and that the Anglo-Egyptian dispute would be submitted to the United Nations.

It was thus with regard to the Sudan, rather than to the military clauses in the draft treaty that the gap between the British and Egyptian points of view proved unbridgeable. Yet even with regard to a military alliance between the two countries, the present attitude in Egypt is that evacuation of the country by British forces should not be made conditional upon the conclusion of an alliance. Egypt is now determined to submit not only the question of the Sudan, but the whole dispute to the Security Council. The General Assembly of United Nations, having ruled in December 1946 that no member has the right to maintain any military forces in the territory of another against the latter's wishes, the British occupation of Egypt must in the Egyptian view be terminated as soon as possible. Any military alliance between the two countries which might follow must depend on the amount of respect which Britain is prepared to show for Egyptian interests.¹⁷

There can be little doubt that the breakdown of treaty nego-

¹⁵ *New York Times*, Jan. 1, 1947.

¹⁶ See *La Bourse Egyptienne* (Cairo), Jan. 6, 1947.

¹⁷ For Prime Minister Nuqrashi's official statement regarding the breakdown of negotiations and Egypt's decision to refer the matter to the Security Council, see p. 320.

tiations is deeply regretted by every responsible person in Great Britain, Egypt, and the Middle East, indeed by all who have the cause of world peace at heart. The common interests of Great Britain and Egypt are too large and far-reaching in their scope to be compromised by failure to agree on a suitable interpretation of a diplomatic document. The importance which the British authorities undoubtedly attach to the position of the Sudan in the whole strategic scheme of the Middle East cannot be adduced as sufficient grounds for remaining adamant, for it is difficult to see in what manner a union of Egypt and the Sudan could detract from the value of the latter. One might, indeed, be justified in thinking that in an emergency it would be an advantage for the two countries to act as a unit.

The present wave of anti-British feeling in Egypt need not by any means be considered as an indication of a permanent policy of hostility to Britain. In the history of Anglo-Egyptian relations there have been repeated waves of anti-British feeling evoked by such acts as those mentioned in this article. But these were always of short duration, to be followed by a more normal spirit of friendliness and co-operation. It is to be hoped that the present impasse, too, will be brief.

UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

A Reference Article

Raymond L. Thurston

IN HIS press conference on February 25, 1947, Secretary of State George C. Marshall pointed out that "relations between the United States and India have assumed a new significance with the arrival in this country on February 20 of India's Ambassador-designate, Mr. Asaf Ali. . . ." ¹ Shortly after India's first ambassador took over his duties in Washington, it was announced that Henry F. Grady would depart for India to present his credentials as the first American ambassador at New Delhi.² This exchange of diplomatic representatives is a formal symbol of a new and significant relationship between the United States and the 400,000,000 people of India.

The political, economic, and cultural ties that link the two countries have roots extending back a century or more, but these were of relatively minor consequence in the field of international relations until the outbreak of World War II. Even at the present time it is doubtful whether there is a very broad public awareness, particularly in the United States, of the quickened tempo and significance of American relations with India since 1941.

¹ A prominent nationalist Moslem for many years, Asaf Ali held at the time of his designation as India's Ambassador to Washington the portfolio of Transport and Communications in the Indian Interim Government.

² In 1941 and again in 1942 Dr. Grady visited India on special economic missions for the American Government. In 1946 he headed the American mission to observe the elections in Greece.

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Prior to World War II questions of a diplomatic character between the United States and India were discussed through the channels represented by the British Embassy at Washington and the American Embassy at London. Although India had achieved, by virtue of its membership in the League of Nations and other international bodies, a modicum of what jurists sometimes call "international personality," its foreign relations in all global aspects were directed from London. In the field of external relations the Government of India itself was almost exclusively concerned with such limitrophe countries as Afghanistan and Nepal. Consular representatives of the United States³ and other Western countries were established in coastal ports, but were not permitted to maintain official premises in New Delhi or Simla, the Indian winter and summer capitals.

The increasing autonomy of India after World War I, particularly in the field of finance and commerce, gave rise to the need for a more intimate contact between foreign consular representatives at the seaports and the Government of India in the interior. The coming of World War II emphasized the need. The imposition by the Government of India of stringent exchange and quota controls on foreign trade in May 1940, as part of the British Empire dollar pool plan, had an immediate effect on trade between the United States and India and created a number of problems requiring closer contact between the two governments. From the outset of World War II elaborate plans were formulated in London and New Delhi for the fullest possible utilization of India's resources for the war effort. The passage of the Lend-Lease Act by the American Congress early in 1941 and the designation by President Roosevelt of India as a country whose defense was essential to the security of the United States made even more apparent the need for a more direct relationship between Washington and New Delhi.

Discussions between the British Embassy and the Department of State in the summer of 1941 led to an agreement whereby the Government of India designated an Agent General to represent it in Washington and the American Government established the

³ In matters of a consular or commercial nature the United States maintained official contacts with the Government of India through the American Consulate General at Calcutta.

Office of the American Commissioner in New Delhi.⁴ This first exchange of officials between the United States and India became effective in October 1941, and was destined to become the foundation of rapidly growing official and private contacts between the two countries in the years immediately following.

Pearl Harbor and the quick Japanese military successes in Southeast Asia early in 1942, coupled with simultaneous German surges forward in North Africa and Russia, suddenly pushed India into the limelight of the global war. It appeared for a time that India might become the rendezvous of the Axis aggressors. With the fall of Singapore the Japanese navy gained control of the Bay of Bengal and sent its submarines into the Indian Ocean as far as Madagascar. American merchant vessels in these waters were attacked and sunk with great loss of life. Japanese aircraft dropped bombs on the east coast of India and on the port of Colombo in nearby Ceylon. British and Indian forces were routed by the Japanese in southern Burma, and General Stilwell's hopes of holding northern Burma with Chinese troops ended in the fiasco of his long retreat on foot, accompanied by a few American liaison officers, to the borders of India.

The grave external threat to India came at a time of serious internal discontent. Nationalist elements with strong popular backing encouraged civilian unrest in order to bring pressure on London and New Delhi for an immediate change in India's dependent status.

It was in this confused atmosphere that the American war effort in the China-Burma-India theater was inaugurated. From the outset American emphasis was laid on India as a base of supply and communications for military assistance to China in its holding action against Japan. The Air Transport Command operation over the dangerous "hump" to China represented the most dramatic aspect of this objective. However, a separate American

⁴ Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, a senior official in the Indian Civil Service, was appointed as Agent General for India and continued to serve in that capacity in Washington until November 1946. Although nominally attached to the British Embassy throughout this period, the Indian Agency General became in time a distinct establishment. The Agent General held the personal rank of minister and dealt directly with the appropriate officials of the United States Government on the basis of instructions from the government at New Delhi.

The first American Commissioner in New Delhi was Thomas R. Wilson, a high ranking Foreign Service Officer whose record included previous consular service in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. He likewise held the personal rank of minister.

air force was established to attack Japanese-held objectives in the Southeast Asia area, and eventually American infantry units arrived at Indian ports. These troops took part in the successful campaigns to clear the Japanese from northern Burma, thus making it possible to re-establish land communications with China.

Under the lend-lease program great quantities of American supplies were consigned to India for the use of the British and Indian military forces and also for bolstering the civilian economy. As a reciprocal measure the Government of India furnished supplies in appreciable quantities to the American forces in India and shipped to the United States important raw materials for war production. This interchange of mutual aid totaled over a billion dollars in value.⁵

The program of mutual aid for the joint war effort brought about a new economic intimacy between the United States and India. Henry F. Grady went to India in the spring of 1942 as the head of an American technical mission to make a survey of Indian productive resources.⁶ An India Supply Mission was set up in Washington to carry out procurement functions there, and the United States Foreign Economic Administration in New Delhi endeavored to stimulate the production of Indian commodities vital to America. Problems of transport and shipping space on American vessels required the presence of United States War Shipping Administration representatives at the Indian ports.

These military and economic aspects of the United States war effort in India obviously brought more Americans into personal contact with India and Indians than ever before in the history of the two countries. As a result, also, an increasing number of Indian officials, business men, and students visited the United States despite the rigors and dangers of wartime travel.

Although India became an important area in the American military strategy, the United States Government scrupulously avoided any official intervention in the tangled skein of Indian politics. It was generally recognized that an amicable settlement of the Indian political problem would add both moral and military

⁵ *Department of State Bulletin*, May 26, 1946, p. 916.

⁶ Although it is understood that the report of this mission is to be published by the Government of India, copies are not yet available for public distribution in this country.

strength to the cause of the United Nations, but it was also felt that the task was one for British and Indian hands.

The United States was not, however, entirely inactive with respect to Indian political unrest. In March 1942, President Roosevelt sent Colonel Louis Johnson to India as his personal representative with the rank of Ambassador to replace the American Commissioner.⁷ Colonel Johnson arrived in New Delhi in the midst of negotiations between Sir Stafford Cripps and the Indian political leaders; at the specific request of Sir Stafford he participated unofficially but energetically in this unsuccessful effort to work out a political compromise between British interests and Indian nationalist aspirations.

The failure of the Cripps Mission set in motion a flood of Indian nationalist discontent culminating in the arrest, on August 9, 1942, of almost the entire leadership of the Congress Party, and in large scale disturbances that lasted for many weeks thereafter. By this time there was a considerable American military establishment in India, and in order to keep the political record clear Secretary of State Hull announced to the world that American forces in India were under orders to avoid involvement in India's internal disorders and to take no military action relative thereto except for the protection of American lives and property. The Secretary's statement emphasized that United States troops were in India for the sole purpose of fighting the Axis.⁸

Colonel Johnson had left India before the August 1942 disturbances, and it was not until early in 1943 that Washington again demonstrated its concern with the Indian political stalemate by naming William Phillips as the President's envoy to New Delhi. Ambassador Phillips went to India for the avowed purpose of conducting a careful and dispassionate survey of the Indian political scene, with a view to making recommendations to President Roosevelt. The imprisonment of almost all the important leaders of the Indian National Congress was a handicap to his

⁷ The title "Office of the American Commissioner" disappeared and the Foreign Service establishment in New Delhi assumed the formidable designation of "Office of the Personal Representative of the President of the United States in India," soon abbreviated by usage to the more practical but somewhat misleading phrase, "The American Mission."

⁸ Secretary Hull's statement has historic interest as the first official utterance by the United States Government relative to the Indian political situation. The full text is given in Department of State Press Release No. 411, Aug. 12, 1942.

mission, but Ambassador Phillips kept "open house" to Indians of all political beliefs and travelled extensively throughout the country to enlarge his acquaintance with Indian conditions and opinions. Before his departure from India, he requested permission to meet Mr. Gandhi, who was then incarcerated near Poona, but the Government of India did not find it possible to grant this request. The recommendations that he subsequently made to President Roosevelt have not yet been made a matter of public record, but unauthorized newspaper disclosures in 1944 indicated that Ambassador Phillips had come to the conclusion that active steps should be taken to entrust substantial political power to representative Indian leaders.⁹

The importance which the United States placed upon an early and amicable settlement of the Indian political impasse was well illustrated during the first visit to this country early in 1945 of Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, sister of Jawarhalal Nehru. Her presence in Washington stimulated an American newspaper correspondent to ask Acting Secretary of State Joseph Grew in his press conference on January 29, 1942, to state the official American view on political developments in India. Mr. Grew replied that the American Government had continued to follow with sympathetic interest developments in the Indian question and that it was naturally hopeful that progress would be made in this difficult matter. He then asserted that the United States Government would be happy to contribute in any appropriate manner to the achievement of a satisfactory settlement, adding that the United States had close ties of friendship both with the British and with the people of India, ties that had been strengthened by our common participation in the war effort.¹⁰

It is obvious that these American efforts to encourage a peaceful solution of the Indian question had only a limited appeal to politically conscious Indians. To win the greatest possible support in India for the war effort, the United States opened an "outpost" of the Office of War Information (OWI) in New Delhi in April 1942. Other branches of the OWI were later set up in Bombay, Calcutta, and Karachi. Operating within the framework

⁹ See the *New York Times*, Sept. 3, 1944.

¹⁰ Department of State Radio Bulletin, Jan. 30, 1942.

of the American policy of "hands off" the internal political situation, the OWI program of information libraries, newsletters, photographs, documentary films, and radio dramas, stimulated an unprecedented interest among Indians in "the American way of life." The American educational system, industrial techniques, agricultural development, democratic political institutions — all these became topics of genuine and lasting interest to thousands of educated Indians.

These moves toward a closer understanding were given impetus when near the end of the war the Department of State at Washington inaugurated a modest program of cultural co-operation for the Near and Middle East, including India. American books were placed in Indian libraries and schools, and many Indian publications were sent to the United States. Invitations were issued to outstanding Indians to visit the United States, and assistance was given to Indian students wishing to pursue advanced studies in this country. Since the war more than 1,000 Indian students, about half of whom were selected by the Government of India as part of a training program related to Indian economic development schemes, have arrived in the United States. Hundreds of other Indian soil experts, irrigation specialists, and highway engineers have also visited this country in the past two years.¹¹

With the end of the war in Europe and Asia the British Government took immediate steps to put India on the road to full self-government, either as a member of the British Commonwealth or as an independent state, according to the wishes of the Indians themselves. The establishment on September 2, 1946, of an Interim Indian Government at New Delhi composed of representative Indian political leaders, and the convening in December 1946 of an Indian Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution for an Indian federal union, were officially welcomed by the Government

¹¹ Dr. J. K. Kumarappa, Director of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences at Bombay, came to the United States in December 1944 as the first Indian invited to visit this country by the Department of State. He was followed by Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas, also of Bombay, who came to the United States early in 1946 to make a survey of management-labor relations. In 1946 the prominent American historian, Merle Curti, of the University of Wisconsin, lectured in India under the sponsorship of the Watumull Foundation. The Foundation was established by a wealthy Indian resident of the United States in 1944 and awards substantial scholarships and fellowships to Indians for study and research in this country.

of the United States as representing genuine progress in one of the most difficult political questions confronting the post-war world.¹²

In October 1946, after representatives of the Moslem League had joined the Viceroy's Council, it was announced that the United States and Indian governments had agreed to an exchange of ambassadors, and to the raising of their respective missions in New Delhi and Washington to the rank of embassies.¹³ This step was evidence of the United States' recognition of India's achievement of full international stature, and was also in keeping with the avowed British intention to accord India immediate *de facto* dominion status insofar as constitutional limitations permitted.

In the months immediately preceding the transfer of political responsibilities to Indian hands, several questions of mutual interest to the United States and India were resolved in a manner reflecting the intention of both countries to maintain the friendliest relations. One of these was the problem presented by the racial provisions of the American immigration statutes. Under these laws Indians could not enter the United States as immigrants for permanent residence, nor were they eligible for naturalization as American citizens. A bill to remedy this discrimination was introduced into the 79th Congress early in 1945. Strongly supported by President Roosevelt and the Department of State, it was finally enacted into law the following year.

In his testimony on the Indian immigration question Undersecretary of State Acheson made a passing reference to the acute threat of famine then confronting India, stressing that concerted action in the fields of food shipments and immigration legislation "will show that we are anxious that the people of India shall be our friends and shall be received by this country and in the other United Nations as equals. . . ."¹⁴

During the months when it appeared that a widespread famine might engulf large sections of India, the United States shipped

¹² Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson so described the British Cabinet Mission plan for India in his press conference on May 16, 1946. On August 27, 1946, he addressed a statement of good wishes to the new Indian Government, deploring only the refusal of the Moslem League to participate in the Interim Government.

¹³ Department of State Press Release No. 753, Oct. 23, 1946.

¹⁴ *Hearings*, Senate Committee on Immigration, 79th Congress, Second Session, Apr. 15, 1946. (Unpublished)

increasingly larger quantities of grain to India. In a message to Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, on May 3, 1946, President Truman said: "You may be sure that the gravity of the food shortage in India is thoroughly recognized by the United States Government and is receiving the fullest and most sympathetic consideration on the highest levels of the Government."¹⁵ Earlier in the year the President had personally discussed Indian food needs with Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar, leader of an Indian food delegation that came to Washington in February 1946 to present India's case to the Combined Food Board. Other manifestations of American interest in meeting India's urgent needs included Mr. Herbert Hoover's tour of that country at the request of the President's Famine Emergency Committee in May 1946, and the unofficial food mission sent to India under the leadership of Professor Theodore Schulz in July 1946, by the India Famine Emergency Committee.

It is estimated that 653,605 tons of food grains were sent to India from the United States in 1946.¹⁶ These food shipments constituted an important factor in enabling India to avert famine. They did not represent an American gift to India; the grain was purchased on a cash basis. In fact, food accounted for almost half the American exports to India in 1946 as measured by dollar value.¹⁷ Food had never before been a significant item in the trade between the two countries. The non-commercial character of American grain exports to India is thus apparent and points to the existence of broader policy considerations.¹⁸

In early April 1946, representatives of India arrived in Washington to negotiate with American officials an over-all settlement of lend-lease, reciprocal aid, and surplus property questions pending between the two countries. American concern for a satisfactory settlement of all such matters was made clear in the statement issued at the commencement of negotiations, which said in part:

¹⁵ See Department of State Press Release No. 316, May 10, 1946, for full texts of messages exchanged by the Viceroy and the President on this subject.

¹⁶ Department of Commerce estimate.

¹⁷ U. S. cash exports to India in 1946, excluding lend-lease and private relief shipments, totaled approximately \$170,000,000, about \$74,000,000 of which represented food shipments.

¹⁸ Some of the difficulties presented by the sudden emergence of a famine threat in India are mentioned in Department of State Press Release No. 354, May 24, 1946.

This Government sincerely hopes that the conclusion of an over-all lend-lease and surplus property settlement which represents a necessary postscript to the joint war effort of the two countries, will be a prelude to increasingly coöperative and cordial peacetime relations between the United States and India. The comprehensive programs of industrial and agricultural advancement now being formulated in that great Asiatic country are viewed sympathetically by this Government. The United States stands ready to assist the carrying out of these programs in the various ways which would prove of mutual benefit to the two countries.¹⁹

Many difficulties confronted the negotiators. The Washington talks coincided with the visit to India of the British Cabinet Mission, and the representatives of the Government of India were anxious to conclude an agreement that would meet with the approval of the Indian nationalist elements obviously about to take over the reins of government. Furthermore, India had served as a supply base for the Southeast Asia Command, and while a great volume of lend-lease supplies was shipped to India, the larger part was for the use of the British Government. In the end it was decided that the benefits received by the Government of India were approximately equal to the reciprocal aid it had liberally furnished the United States, both in the form of supplies and services to the American armed forces in India, and in raw materials shipped to this country for war production. It was agreed, therefore, that the obligations of the two governments should be balanced against each other and cancelled.²⁰

The lend-lease and surplus property settlement, signed at Washington on May 16, 1946, was the first formal agreement between India and the United States and was described in the communiqué announcing it as "an auspicious opening for relations between the United States and an India now on the verge of independence."²¹ Considering the political and technical com-

¹⁹ *Lend-Lease and Surplus Property Settlement with India*, Department of State Press Release No. 204, Mar. 29, 1946.

²⁰ The only exception was the special arrangement under which India will return to the United States the silver received during the war. The settlement also included provisions whereby American military surpluses were turned over to the Government of India, and the American debt of about \$45,000,000 for supplies delivered to the United States armed forces in India after V-J day was cancelled. It was stipulated that should the Government of India realize more than \$50,000,000 from the sale of the American surpluses, one-half of the excess proceeds would be made available to the United States Government for real estate and buildings in India and for cultural and educational purposes of mutual benefit to the two countries. See State Department Press Release No. 334, May 16, 1946, for the full text of the agreement.

²¹ Department of State Press Release No. 333, May 16, 1946.

plexity of the issues involved, the successful conclusion of these negotiations augured well for the future of Indo-American relations.

The second formal agreement between the United States and India was a bilateral air transport agreement concluded on November 14, 1946.²² It was based on the principles embodied in the air transport arrangement concluded between the United States and the United Kingdom at Bermuda in February 1946, and defined conditions under which scheduled air services of each country were to be operated between the territories of the other. By this agreement direct air communications have been established between the United States and India. The Trans-World Air Line has begun a regular service between Washington and Bombay, and Pan-American Airways has plans for a service to Karachi, Delhi, and Calcutta. At the time of signing the agreement the two governments expressed their conviction that these air links "afford a practical means of implementing and strengthening the friendly relations already existing between them."²³

On two occasions within the past year the United States Government has clearly indicated its concern over the political future of India. On December 3, 1946, when representatives of the Congress and the Moslem League were in London for crucial talks with the British Government, Acting Secretary of State Acheson announced that he felt "most strongly that it will be in the interest of India, as well as that of the whole world, for its leaders to grasp this opportunity to establish a stable and peaceful India." Pointing to the friendly interest shown by the United States toward Indian political and economic aspirations, Mr. Acheson appealed to the Indian leaders "to make the vital decisions that lie immediately ahead with full awareness that their actions at this moment in history may directly affect world peace and prosperity for generations to come." More specifically,

²² It represented the first international agreement made by the new Indian Interim Government and was signed on its behalf by both the Congress leader, Jawaharlal Nehru, in his capacity as Minister of External Affairs, and by Abdur Rab Nishtar, a Moslem League leader, in his capacity as Minister of Communications. The principal American negotiator was George A. Brownell, sent to India as personal representative of the President for this purpose. Mr. Brownell was assisted by George R. Merrell, Chargé d'Affaires of the American Embassy at New Delhi, and his staff. Both American representatives signed on behalf of their Government.

²³ See Department of State Press Release No. 810, Nov. 13, 1946, for full text of agreement.

he asked that they use the clear provisions of the British Cabinet Mission plan "to forge an Indian federal union in which all elements of the population have ample scope to achieve their legitimate political and economic aspirations."²⁴

Again, on February 25, 1947, Secretary of State Marshall took the occasion of the British announcement that power would be transferred "into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948" to stress American interest in India's peaceful transition to full self-government. Secretary Marshall warned that "an India torn by civil strife . . . could conceivably become the source of new international tensions in a world only now beginning to grope its way back to peace."²⁵ These pronouncements indicate a growing awareness among high American officials that the Indian question cannot be separated from the over-all problem of achieving world peace and prosperity.

When it was announced that all major parties in India were in agreement on the British statement of June 3, the Department of State expressed the hope that "this meeting of the minds will bring an end to civil disorders in India and avoid further bloodshed." It went on to observe that "the future constitutional pattern is a matter to be determined by the Indian people themselves and whatever that pattern may be the United States Government looks forward to the continuance of the friendliest relations with Indians of all communities and creeds."²⁶

In the economic sphere, post-war relations between India and the United States have been dominated by the food question and the strong desire of Indians to inaugurate ambitious schemes of industrialization. To the extent that these schemes require dollar payments for United States capital goods, the paramount need to utilize dollar exchange for the import of food grains has postponed progress. Many other adverse factors have operated in this field, most of them related to the general political and economic uncertainties prevailing in the post-war world. Representatives of India and the United States, together with delegates from

²⁴ Department of State Press Release No. 862, Dec. 3, 1946; reprinted in *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), p. 209.

²⁵ Department of State Press Release No. 142, Feb. 25, 1947; reprinted in *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), p. 212.

²⁶ Department of State Press Release No. 466, June 10, 1947.

fifteen other leading commercial countries, convened at Geneva in May 1947 to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements that will form the foundation of the International Trade Organization that is expected to emerge from the same conference. The movement for such an organization was initiated by the United States, but India has taken a keen interest in the American proposals. It is only natural that a highly industrialized country like the United States and industrially underdeveloped India would emphasize different aspects of an international program for higher levels of world trade and employment. However, American willingness to assist India in its programs of economic development "in the various ways which would prove of mutual benefit to the two countries" has already been mentioned,²⁷ and it is obvious to Indians that American equipment and technicians can be an invaluable factor in their own plans. Since a more balanced economy in India will enhance its ability to import goods and services and thus increase general levels of international trade, there exists a very solid groundwork for economic co-operation between the United States and India.

In a letter dated December 21, 1946, Mr. William L. Clayton, the Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs, informed Representative Celler of New York that the Department of State had long wanted to conclude a mutually advantageous Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation with India. Mr. Clayton further disclosed that the question had been discussed on several occasions with officials of the Government of India, but added that unless most-favored-nation treatment were granted, the United States naturally would not wish to conclude a commercial treaty with India. He then summarized the obstacles to the conclusion of such a treaty at the present time:

The "commercial safeguards" sections of the Government of India Act of 1935, under which India is still governed, grant British commercial and professional interests extensive privileges. Indian nationalist opinion has long agitated for the elimination of such privileges and the Government of India has not considered it could grant most-favored-nation treatment to the United States, or to other foreign countries, so long as the "commercial safeguards" continue in effect. The conclusion of a commercial treaty between India and the United States is, therefore, depend-

²⁷ See p. 301.

ent upon constitutional progress including the negotiation of a treaty between India and the United Kingdom which presumably will concede only such privileges as India is willing to grant to third countries.

Mr. Clayton endorsed the idea of private American trade missions' proceeding to India, "particularly if a careful groundwork is laid and the personnel of the mission consists of representatives of firms which are actually engaged, or prepared to engage, in serious and substantial trade."²⁸

India is reaching the threshold of its political destiny just as the United States is learning some of the hard lessons of power and responsibility. The newly established diplomatic relationship between the United States and India is based on many political and economic interests which are fundamental to both and which will continue to link the two countries closely together. The movement to and fro of businessmen, tourists, students, teachers, journalists, and other professional experts is therefore essential. Fortunately, such an international interchange is now taking place on an expanding scale.

However, there remains a profound ignorance of each other, an ignorance that may become in the future more dangerous to the interests of the two countries and to world peace than in the past when in a certain sense each was isolated from the dynamic forces of world politics. American schools, particularly the universities, must devote more attention to the one-fifth of the human race that inhabits the Indian peninsula. Social scientists have a particular responsibility in this regard. Courses in Indian history and politics are practically non-existent in our institutions of higher learning.²⁹ Very little research work has been done in the Indian field in this country, a situation that must be remedied if the full potentialities of the Indo-American relationship are to be realized.

It is possible that the political and economic forces linking the United States and India are destined to lay the groundwork for momentous cultural trends transcending the limitations of formal diplomacy. In his recent provocative analysis of the main-

²⁸ *Correspondence with Representative Celler on Proposed Treaty of Commerce with India*, Department of State Press Release No. 49, Jan. 20, 1947.

²⁹ The University of Pennsylvania under the leadership of Professor W. Norman Brown is a notable exception.

streams of Eastern and Western thought,³⁰ Professor F. S. C. Northrop developed the thesis that the modern world may see the birth of a universal philosophic spirit in which the theoretic and scientific rationalism of the West would be blended with the emotional and aesthetic spiritualism of the East. The external manifestations of these apparently irreconcilable attitudes toward life are probably found nowhere in such extremely contrasting forms as in the United States on the one hand and in India on the other. If a philosophic synthesis such as that envisaged by Professor Northrop is ever to gain ascendancy over the minds of mankind, the growth of an intimate and profound relationship between the two countries would appear to be an almost indispensable prerequisite.

³⁰ F. S. C. Northrop, *The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding* (New York, 1946).

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY¹

MARCH 1—MAY 31, 1947

IN CONSEQUENCE of an announcement by the British Government that it would not be able to continue its support of the Greek Government beyond the end of March 1947, President Truman went before a joint session of Congress on March 12 with a request that financial assistance in the amount of \$400,000,000 be extended to the governments of Greece and Turkey. In the course of his address, the President declared that "it must be the policy of the United States to support free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures . . . we must assist free peoples to work out their own destinies in their own way . . . our help should be primarily through economic and financial aid which is essential to economic stability and orderly political processes."

Elaborated by Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson in his testimony before the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committees on March 20 and 24, and by the Department of State's answers to 111 questions submitted by members of the Senate, these principles came to be known as the "Truman Doctrine."² Although the Department of State denied that similar requests would be supported on behalf of other na-

tions, it was made abundantly clear that the United States would pursue the underlying principles of the policy by whatever means appeared most effective in each particular case. Thus the extension of financial assistance to Greece and Turkey was essentially a further application of the principles already followed in the Iranian dispute before the Security Council in 1946.

By the formulation of these principles in a manner concrete enough to be termed a "doctrine," and by their application to Iran, Turkey, and Greece, the United States took the first steps toward evolving an over-all policy in the Middle East. Its emphasis was still largely negative from the point of view of the Middle Eastern states themselves, for it was centered upon the exclusion of disruptive Russian communist influence from those states bordering Soviet-controlled areas. The doctrine's more positive corollary, that is, the promotion of political and economic stability in the Middle East itself, was explicit in President Truman's enunciation of the policy but its working out necessarily would be a matter of slow and long development.

Owing to the fact that, although applied in the Middle East, it was not primarily directed toward the Middle East, the Truman Doctrine aroused no great response among the Arab nations. Attention there was currently focused on relations with those European powers, notably Great Britain, already established in the area. However, the evident earnestness of American opposition to com-

¹ All items in the Chronology are drawn from the *New York Times* unless otherwise indicated.

² A complete file of the documents pertaining to the Greek-Turkish aid bill may be found in "Aid to Greece and Turkey: A Collection of State Papers," *Department of State Bulletin, Supplement*, XVI, No. 409 A, May 4, 1947.

munism demonstrated the determination of the United States to fulfill its role as a major power, and to that extent bore due weight in America's relations with the Middle East.

Aden

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Apr. 15: Peter Davey, a political officer of the Aden Western Protectorate, was murdered by tribesmen 45 miles east of Dhala. He was killed while trying to arrest the Sheikh of the Ahmedi section in the Amir State, Muhammad Ibn Awas, who was also killed. (*London Times*, Apr. 19, 1947, page 3.)

Afghanistan

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Apr. 13: The USSR and Afghanistan signed an agreement on wireless communications. (*London Times*, Apr. 21, 1947, page 4.)

Apr. 26: An Afghan group, headed by Gen. Abdul Kayum Khan, met a Soviet group in Tashkent, USSR, to discuss the demarcation of the frontier between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

Arab League

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Mar. 17: The seventh general session of the Arab League Council held its opening meeting in Cairo.

Mar. 23: The Council of the Arab League passed a resolution giving support to Egypt's demands for independence and its desire to submit its case to UN.

Apr. 14: The Syrian and Lebanese Governments requested a meeting of the political committee of the Arab League at Damascus for further study of the Palestine case before the UN meeting.

Apr. 17: The political committee of the Arab League, meeting in Damascus, agreed to demand the end of Britain's mandate over Palestine at the UN meeting.

Egypt

The spring months saw an ebbing of the possibility of compromise between Egypt and Great Britain over the questions of evacuation of British troops from Egypt and the future status of the Sudan. The resignation in March of Sir Hubert Huddleston and the appointment of Sir Robert Howe as Governor-General of the Sudan indicated a renewed attempt by the British to remove all causes of irritation between themselves and the Egyptians, but the door to further treaty negotiations appeared to be definitely closed by the repeated pronouncements of Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha that Egypt would submit the controversy to the Security Council of UN. The completion of the British evacuation of Cairo, Alexandria, and the Delta did little to appease the Egyptians or quell the fervent outbreaks of nationalist sentiment in denouncing the 1936 Treaty of Alliance.

In the preparation and presentation of their case before the Security Council, the Egyptians were confronted with three problems: the establishment of national agreement on the method of presenting the case; the securing of Arab League support; and the building up of world sympathy. As the quarter ended and the time approached for Egypt to present its case, the Arab League had expressed its willingness to offer support, but such national agreement as was achieved was based on expediency rather than on any meeting of minds, and the extent of worldwide sympathy remained a matter of doubt and speculation.

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Mar. 3: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha announced the decision of the Egyptian Government to appeal the issues of Egyptian sovereignty over the Sudan and evacuation of British troops from Egypt to the UN Security Council. (For text, see page 320.)

Initial Anglo-Egyptian talks on sterling balances were concluded without final agreement. (*London Times*, Mar. 4, 1947, page 4.)

Mar. 11: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha told the Egyptian Senate he intended to appeal to the

Security Council to cancel the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty and to force Britain to remove her troops from Egypt and the Sudan.

British Prime Minister Attlee replied in the House of Commons to Nuqrashi Pasha's speech on the causes of the breakdown of Anglo-Egyptian negotiations. (For text, see page 320.)

Mar. 14: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha announced there would be no resumption of talks between Egypt and Great Britain.

Mar. 16: Sir Robert Howe, Assistant Under-Secretary of the British Foreign Office, was approved by the Egyptian Cabinet for the post of Governor-General of the Sudan replacing Sir Hubert Huddleston.

Mar. 18: An unoccupied classroom of the British Institute was damaged by a small bomb.

Mar. 29: British evacuation of Cairo was completed two days ahead of schedule with the removal of the last troops from Kasr al-Nil barracks.

Mar. 30: The British Supply Mission in Cairo, formed in October 1945 to take over the functions of the Middle East Supply Center, was closed. (London *Times*, Mar. 31, 1947, page 5.)

Mar. 31: Egypt celebrated the evacuation of British troops; the Egyptian flag was raised over the Kasr al-Nil barracks.

Apr. 3: By a unanimous vote, the Egyptian members of the Anglo-Egyptian Union (formed in 1937 to promote friendly relations between the two countries) voted to disband the organization, the British members having previous to his action withdrawn from the meeting.

Apr. 7-12: The 36th Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union held meetings in Cairo with 24 nations represented.

Apr. 13: Sabri Abu Alam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Wafd Party, died.

Apr. 19: The third Congress of the Egyptian Society of International Law convened in Alexandria. (*Journal d'Egypte*, Apr. 20, 21, 23, 1947.)

Apr. 20: Gen. Ibrahim Pasha Atalla, Chief of Staff of the Egyptian army, arrived in the U. S. to tour military installations.

Some 300 British soldiers on their way to the United Kingdom from the Sudan were turned back at the Egyptian frontier and forced to embark at Port Sudan instead.

Apr. 24: Lieut. Gen. Sir Alan Cunningham, British High Commissioner for Palestine, visited British Middle East Military Headquarters at Fayid in the Suez Canal Zone to confer with Gen. Sir Miles Dempsey, British Commander in Chief in the Middle East.

May 4: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha in a radio speech reproved his people for the recent inci-

dents directed against foreign visitors.

May 6: Four persons were killed and 12 injured when a time bomb exploded in the Metro cinema in Cairo.

May 7: Sir Robert Howe arrived in Khartoum to assume his duties as Governor-General of the Sudan. (London *Times*, May 8, 1947, page 3.)

May 9: An Egyptian Government request for an \$88,000,000 loan from the U. S. was rejected on the grounds that legal authority for a long-term stabilization credit was lacking.

May 10: The U. S. light cruiser *Dayton*, the destroyers *Compton* and *Gainard*, and the aircraft carrier *Leyte* arrived in the harbor at Alexandria for a stay of several days.

Abd al-Salam Fahmi Jumah Pasha was appointed Secretary-General of the Wafd Party.

May 12: The Italo-Egyptian agreement concluded in Paris September 1946 was approved by the Constituent Assembly in Rome. Under the agreement Italy is to pay reparations to Egypt of 4,500,000 pounds. (London *Times*, May 13, 1947, page 3.)

May 16: British Foreign Minister Bevin, in a speech on foreign policy, stated that Britain would make "no attempt to appease the Egyptian Government at the expense of the Sudanese people." (For text, see page 321.)

May 18: Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha, replying to British Foreign Minister Bevin's speech of May 16, called for the immediate and complete withdrawal of all British troops, the unity of the Nile Valley, and the termination of the 1936 Treaty of Alliance. (For text, see page 322.)

India

The major political developments in India came in reaction to the British Government's announcement on February 20, 1947, of its intention to "take the necessary steps to effect the transference of power into responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948." Viscount Mountbatten, after taking the oath of office as the new Viceroy on March 24, at once set himself to the task of ascertaining the degree of flexibility in the apparent intransigence of the Moslem and Hindu leaders. By the middle of May he was ready with his suggestions, and was called to London for the drafting of compromise proposals to be presented to the Indian leaders

on June 2. The compromise involved the recognition of a limited Pakistan set up on the basis of a partition of the Punjab and Bengal. The British Government looked upon the proposal as second choice to the plan for a unified India propounded by the Cabinet Mission in the spring of 1946, but permissible if it served to effect the transfer of power into "responsible Indian hands."

There were indications that the Working Committee of the Congress Party would be willing to accept this much of a concession to the Moslem League. Gandhi, however, remained strongly opposed to any form of partition, even expressing the opinion that it would be preferable for India to remain in dominion status under the 1946 Cabinet Mission proposal. Those Congress Party leaders, notably Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, who were willing to modify their insistence on a unified India were possibly swayed by the continued violence of communal riots, which in the Punjab got completely out of hand. They possibly feared that a prolongation of such disturbances might persuade the British Government to postpone its announced date of withdrawal. There may also have been the expectation that a Pakistan set up in such restricted form could not survive as an independent entity, and that by compromise at this time unity eventually might be attained.

Attempts under the guidance of Mohammed Ali Jinnah to establish immediate Moslem rule in the predominantly Moslem areas of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier province ended in failure. The Moslem League's civil disobedience campaign in the Punjab succeeded in bringing about the resignation of the coalition ministry on March 2, but the League's subsequent attempt to form a ministry was blocked by the aroused opposition of the large Hindu and Sikh minorities, and by its inability to unite the whole Moslem population behind it. The violence of the resultant rioting forced the governor of the Punjab to proclaim Governor's Rule in the province. The experience did not augur well for the League's ability to control the Punjab should it be set up in its entirety as part of Pakistan. Nevertheless Jinnah, at least in his public utterances, still

steadfastly refused to admit of any proposal to partition the province.

CHRONOLOGY

1947

- Mar. 1:* Mohandas K. Gandhi announced he would continue his walking tour for peace in Bihar Province.
- Mar. 2:* Representatives of the Indian Princes and the Constituent Assembly agreed that delegates from the Princely States to the Assembly would be elected either by legislatures or electoral colleges.
- In the Punjab the coalition cabinet (Congress and Unionist parties) of Sir Khizar Hiyat Khan Tiwana resigned.
- Mar. 4:* In the Punjab, the demand for an all-Moslem League cabinet lead to rioting in Lahore, causing 30 deaths and 47 injured the first day.
- Sir Khizar Hiyat Khan Tiwana resigned as Prime Minister of Punjab Province.
- Mar. 5:* The Governor took over the administration of Punjab Province, in accordance with Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935.
- Mar. 6:* The British House of Commons approved the Government's decision to withdraw from India not later than June 1948.
- Mar. 7:* Rioting in the Punjab spread into the northern parts of the province.
- Mar. 8:* The Congress Party invited the Moslem League to appoint representatives to meet with Congress spokesmen to prepare for withdrawal of the British from India.
- Mar. 9:* Airborne troops arrived in Punjab to try to quell the rioting.
- Mar. 11:* The Reserve Bank of India issued a notification instructing authorized dealers in foreign exchange in India not to open letters of credit expiring later than July 15, 1947, or to extend existing credits beyond that date. This action was followed by an order by the Import Trade Controller advancing the expiration date from Dec. 31, 1947, to June 30, 1947, on all import licenses except those covering capital goods, capital goods for postwar reconstruction, and heavy electrical plants. (*Foreign Commerce Weekly*, Apr. 26, 1947, page 19.)
- Mar. 12:* Rioting broke out in North-West Frontier Province, where the Moslem League had been conducting a civil disobedience campaign against the Congress Ministry. (*London Times*, Mar. 13, 1947, page 3.)
- Mar. 14:* Pandit Nehru toured the riot-torn areas in Punjab.
- Mar. 15:* Punjab Government figures listed 1,036

killed and 1,110 seriously injured in the Punjab riots.

The Government of India cancellation of Open General License VIII of Sept. 12, 1946, became effective, meaning that thereafter anyone importing any of the 92 items listed therein must obtain an individual import license. (*Foreign Commerce Weekly*, Apr. 5, 1947, page 17.)

Mar. 17: Mohammed Ali Jinnah urged members of the Moslem League in Punjab to co-operate fully in the efforts to restore order in that province.

Mar. 18: Afridi tribesmen temporarily prevented movement through Khyber Pass as an expression of their grievance against the government's decrease in their food subsidies.

Mar. 19: Congress Party members of the auxiliary "Redshirts" went into Peshawar to attempt to pacify Hindu, Moslem, and Sikh elements.

Mar. 21: Viscount Wavell, retiring Viceroy of India, delivered his farewell message to the people of India.

Mar. 23: The Asian Relations Conference, sponsored by the Indian Council of World Affairs, began its meetings in Delhi.

Renewed rioting broke out in Bombay.

Mar. 24: Viscount Mountbatten took office as Governor-General and Viceroy of India, succeeding Viscount Wavell.

Mar. 26: Communal rioting broke out in Calcutta.

Mar. 30: Calcutta riots continued; Hindu-Moslem riots in Bombay caused 40 deaths the first day.

Mar. 31: Mohandas K. Gandhi discussed the Indian situation with Viceroy Mountbatten, beginning a series of conferences between the two men.

Apr. 1: The Government of India inaugurated a new export policy under which 25 per cent of the total quota of certain controlled commodities would be reserved for those entering export business for the first time, and those also who in the past had exported only commodities not subject to control. (*Foreign Commerce Weekly*, May 24, 1947, page 15.)

Apr. 3-4: Hindu-Moslem rioting spread into the area around Gurgaon in southeastern Punjab.

Apr. 4: Acting Secretary of State Dean Acheson announced that Henry F. Grady had been appointed first U. S. Ambassador to India.

Apr. 5: The Viceroy began a series of conferences with Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

Apr. 8: The Premier of Hyderabad announced that his state hoped to enter an alliance with the future central government of independent India.

The Legislative Assembly repealed sections

40 and 41 of the Reserve Bank of India Act which made it compulsory for the Reserve Bank to buy and sell sterling for rupees at certain fixed rates without limit of amount. This De-linking Bill thus severed the legal tie with sterling and made the rupee an independent currency. Though the Reserve Bank was thus empowered to purchase any currencies, it would continue to deal only in sterling until clarification of India's exchange position was determined following settlement of the country's sterling balances. Under new amendments the Central Government will fix exchange rates instead of the Reserve Bank. (*Foreign Commerce Weekly*, May 10, 1947, page 16.)

Apr. 12: The two weeks of intermittent conferences held by Gandhi and the Viceroy were ended.

Apr. 15: Jinnah and Gandhi issued a joint declaration asking all Indians to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder.

Apr. 15-16: The Viceroy conferred with the provincial governors.

Apr. 18: The Viceroy met with Pandit Nehru, Sir Olaf Caroe, the Governor of the North-West Frontier Province, and Dr. Khan Sahib, its Prime Minister. One result of the meeting was the granting of an amnesty to all political prisoners jailed by the province's ministry.

Apr. 19: Pandit Nehru told the annual session of the All-India States People's Conference meeting in Gwalior that any Indian state not entering the Constituent Assembly would be treated as a hostile state.

Apr. 21: It was announced that casualties in Calcutta's riots to date were 85 killed and 730 injured.

Apr. 23: The Earl of Listowel replaced Lord Pethick-Lawrence as Secretary of State for India and Burma in the British Cabinet.

Apr. 24-25: Communal rioting was renewed in New Delhi and spread to Lahore.

Apr. 25: In Calcutta an estimated 10 to 14 were killed and 90 injured in the worst Hindu-Moslem outbreak for a month.

Apr. 26: Nehru and Jinnah cabled the Arab League assuring it of their support of independence for Palestine.

Apr. 28: The third session of the Constituent Assembly opened in New Delhi. In his opening speech Nehru said that the Congress Party might have to accept the political division of India after the British left in 1948.

The Viceroy visited the North-West Frontier Province.

Apr. 29: The Constituent Assembly adopted the provision that "untouchability in any form is

abolished and the imposition of any disability on that account shall be an offense," for inclusion in the proposed Indian constitution.

May 1: The Congress Party's Working Committee convened in New Delhi.

The Constituent Assembly adopted clauses for a fundamental rights charter in the proposed Indian constitution.

May 3: The Indian Labor Service Organization severed relations with the All-India National Trade Union Congress on grounds that the latter was dominated by communists.

May 4: Gandhi again conferred with the Viceroy.

Hindu priests and ascetics demonstrated before Nehru's home in protest against the move by the Constituent Assembly on Apr. 29 favoring the abolition of untouchability.

May 6: Jinnah and Gandhi conferred (for the first time since Sept. 1944) and disagreed on the subject of division of India into Pakistan and Hindustan.

May 7: Sir Evan Jenkins, Governor of Punjab, ordered Moslems of the Rawalpindi district to pay a collective fine of Rs. 3,000,000 for the riots that occurred there.

Jinnah said that he could not advise Moslem League leaders in the North-West Frontier Province to call off their civil disobedience movement.

May 10: Fresh riots broke out in Punjab Province.

May 14: Communal riots broke out in Lahore, with 12 killed during the day.

May 16: Lo Chia Luen presented to the Viceroy his credentials as first Chinese Ambassador to India.

The Government of India announced a revision of its import trade-control policy which would become effective July 1, 1947, and was for the purpose of making maximum use of India's foreign exchange resources and of restricting imports of certain consumer goods and nonessentials. (*Foreign Commerce Weekly*, May 31, 1947, page 15.)

May 17: British troops were sent to quell the riots in Lahore.

May 18: The Viceroy left India for conferences in London on the new British plan for India.

May 18-19: Thousands of people left Lahore because of the riots there.

May 19: It was reported that Sir Mohammed Hamidullah Khan, the Nawab of Bhopal, had resigned as Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

May 20: An improvement of the situation in Lahore was reported.

May 21: Jinnah gave an interview in New Delhi in which he revealed his stand: demand for a

corridor through Hindustan connecting the two parts of Pakistan in northwest and north-east India; opposition to partition of Bengal and Punjab; hope for an alliance of friendship and reciprocity between Pakistan and Hindustan.

The Secretary of State for India announced to the House of Lords that since Nov. 18, 1946, 4,014 persons had been killed and 3,316 injured in the disturbances in India.

May 23: The Viceroy's plan for transfer of power to Indian hands was approved by the British Cabinet.

May 26: The Indian Defense Ministry announced that 10,000 additional troops would be sent to Punjab to quiet disorders there.

May 30: The Viceroy, Viscount Mountbatten, returned to India from London.

Fifty villages were reported to have been destroyed in the Gurgaon area of southeast Punjab.

Iran

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Mar. 23: Renewal of fighting between Barzani Kurds and the Iranian army was reported.

Mar. 31: The Iranian Army Chief of Staff announced the execution of Qazi Mohammad, Kurdish leader, his brother Sadr Qazi, and his cousin Seif Qazi.

Apr. 10: An Iranian military mission under Gen. Hedayat, Under-Secretary to the Minister of War, arrived in the U. S. to discuss the buying of arms and ammunition.

Apr. 19: Abdul Hussein Sadri was appointed Governor-General of Fars Province, succeeding Emad Fatemi.

May 3: U. S. Ambassador to Iran George Allen stated that the U. S. was considering the sale of \$25,000,000 worth of army surplus equipment to Iran.

May 8: Maj. Sadeq Ansari, Dadar Taqizadeh, and Haritoun Harapetian, the first two being members of the Azerbaijani Parliament under the Pishevari government, were executed according to reports from Tabriz.

May 18: Iran sent a note to Moscow demanding repayment of 3 million pounds in gold and 2 million pounds in paper currency for debts incurred by Russia during the occupation of northern Iran.

May 24: Feridoun Ibrahimi, attorney-general in

the Azerbaijan government of Pishevari, was hanged in Tabriz.

May 30: Brig. Gen. H. Norman Schwartzkopf, American adviser to the Iranian gendarmerie, arrived in the U. S. from Iran to obtain supplies for Iran's army and gendarmerie.

Iraq

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Mar. 10: Election results were announced; the Iraqi Government party received a majority of the votes. Twenty-two deputies had been added to the members of Parliament, making a total of 138.

Mar. 17: The new Parliament held its opening session. Salih Jabir was elected president of the Senate and Abd al-Aziz was elected to head the lower house.

Mar. 30: New cabinet was formed with Salih Jabir (Shiah) as Prime Minister and Minister of the Interior.

Apr. 4: Nuri al-Said Pasha was elected president of the Senate.

Apr. 8: The chief rabbi of Iraq, Sasson Khaduri, declared that Iraqi Jews were opposed to Zionism.

Apr. 10: Nuri al-Said Pasha, president of the Iraqi Senate, arrived in Amman, Transjordan, to begin discussions of steps to bring about a union of the two countries in regard to finances, foreign affairs, and defense.

Apr. 11: Ali Jawdat presented to President Truman his letters of credence as first Iraqi Ambassador to the U. S.

Apr. 16: It was officially announced that all British land forces would be withdrawn from Iraq by autumn with the exception of two small RAF detachments at Habbaniyah and Shaibah airports.

Lebanon

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Mar. 3: Antun Saadi returned from Brazil to Beirut to head the People's Party. (*Oriente Moderno*, Jan.-Mar., 1947, page 37.)

Mar. 4: Fourteen persons were killed in Tripoli in a political demonstration following the arrival of Fawzi al-Qawuqji from Cairo.

Mar. 17: Charles Hilu presented his credentials

as first Lebanese Minister to the Vatican. (*Oriente Moderno*, Jan.-Mar., 1947, page 37.)

Apr. 8: President Bishara al-Khuri dissolved Parliament and set new elections for May 25 and June 1.

May 25: Parliamentary elections were held.

May 28: The results of the elections showed that 49 seats in the Chamber of Deputies had been filled by the Government's supporters, six more to be decided on June 1.

Kamal Jumblat, Minister of National Economy and Agriculture, resigned in protest against the conduct of the elections.

May 29: Lebanese troops barred the entrance into Beirut of Druze tribesmen who intended to stage a peaceful demonstration protesting the election results. Premier Riad al-Sulh banned any further similar meetings.

May 31: Tripoli workers struck in answer to an appeal for a demonstration from the newly formed opposition party "National Liberation."

North Africa

Realizing that time was running short, the French Government continued its attempt to bring about more liberal and stable relationships with its territories in North Africa. It had to move forward in the face of openly expressed opposition on the part of the nationalist leaders, and under the handicap of reactionary sentiments among the local French population in North Africa. Animosity toward the French administration was intensified by the April riot in Casablanca in which Senegalese troops killed Moroccan civilians.

France's apprehension was apparent in the numerous tours of inspection made by prominent government officials, principally Minister of Interior Edouard Depreux's tour of Algeria and General Leclerc's visit to Morocco; in the appointment of an inspector of land, sea, and air forces in North Africa; in the dismissal of Eirik Labonne, Resident-General in Morocco, for his failure to keep the Sultan of Morocco in line, and his replacement by General Juin, a career army officer, instead of the usual peacetime appointment of a civilian; and in the discussions in Paris of French colonial policy and French Union.

In the meantime the French Government worked on measures to thwart nationalist demands. French National Assembly committees were considering a statute which would define the relationship of Algeria to France, and which the Minister of Interior promised the Algerians would incorporate the results of the findings he had made on his tour of inspection. Prospective reforms also envisaged a National Assembly for Algeria, a greater degree of local self-government, an extension of co-operative societies, and more schools for native children. As a precautionary move, however, the French in April made a modest display of military strength in eastern Algeria, where Messali Haj, Arab nationalist leader, had been making speeches the month before.

Reform measures along similar lines were under consideration for Morocco and Tunisia. To persuade the Sultan to accept the reforms planned for Morocco was one of the chief responsibilities of the newly appointed Resident-General. To convince the Tunisians of the good faith of France, press censorship was removed. On the other hand, urgently needed decisions on colonial policy were delayed by the failure of the coalition government in Paris to agree on basic principles. Until these were made all measures were likely to be but temporary stopgaps.

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Apr. 7: In a riot resulting from a street brawl in Casablanca, Senegalese troops fired on a crowd of Moroccan civilians. Sixty-three persons, principally Moroccans, were killed and 119 wounded.

Apr. 9: The Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Muhammad Ibn Yusuf, left Rabat for a visit to Tangier.

Apr. 10: The Sultan of Morocco spoke at Tangier along strongly nationalist lines. He praised the Arab League, but omitted a statement of loyalty toward the French Protectorate which had been in the prepared version of his speech.

The U. S. Army released the Casablanca airfield, thus marking the completion of the evacuation of French Morocco.

Edouard Depreux, Minister of Interior in the French Cabinet, left France for Algeria to investigate the situation there.

Apr. 13: The Sultan of Morocco rounded out his

visit to Tangier with a speech in which he made friendly reference to the Arab League and claimed "full rights" for Morocco. (London *Times*, Apr. 15, 1947, page 4.)

Apr. 14: Arabs in Tangier staged anti-French demonstrations to express their sympathy for the Moroccans killed in Casablanca on Apr. 7.

Apr. 16: Abd al-Rahman Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League, was reported to have telegraphed the Sultan of Morocco promising full support of the Sultan's demands for independence. (London *Times*, Apr. 17, 1947, page 4.)

Apr. 18: Jean Mons, Resident-General in Tunisia, was present at a special meeting of government and military experts in Paris to study the problems of French Union and French colonial policy. Gen. Alphonse-Pierre Juin, Chief of Staff for National Defense, Lieut. Gen. Georges Revers, army Chief of Staff, were also present.

French Air Minister André Maroselli visited the air base at Sidi Ahmed in Tunis.

Apr. 19: The French Government appointed General Jacques Philippe Leclerc, then on tour of inspection in Morocco, to be inspector of land, sea, and air forces in North Africa.

Apr. 21: The fourth annual congress of the Algerian Communist Party was concluded.

Apr. 26: Censorship of the press was ended in Tunisia.

May 8: The Control Commission of the Tangier International Zone voted to suspend the French language weekly, *La Voix du Maroc*, for six months.

May 13: The Communist Party in Morocco in a telegram to the Sultan demanded the termination of the French Protectorate and the independence of Morocco.

May 14: The French Government appointed General Alphonse-Pierre Juin as Resident-General of Morocco in replacement of Eirik Labonne, who was given a special appointment as adviser to the President and Prime Minister of France on questions regarding French Union. (London *Times*, May 16, 1947, page 3.)

May 22: The U. S. Army announced the closing of the Mellaha airfield at Tripoli.

May 28: Gen. Alphonse-Pierre Juin took up his duties in Rabat as Resident-General of Morocco.

May 31: On his way from Réunion Island to the Riviera, where the French had granted him permission to live, Abd al-Karim, exiled by the French for his activities in the Rif war of 1925, left his ship at Port Said to seek sanctuary in Egypt.

The French Government refused to allow an

Egyptian food ship to enter the port of Tunis on the grounds that the alleged relief mission was "political" in nature.

Palestine

Great Britain formally requested the Secretary-General of United Nations on April 2 "to summon, as soon as possible, a special Session of the General Assembly for the purpose of constituting and instructing a Special Committee to prepare for the consideration" of the Palestine question at the next regular session of the Assembly. A majority of the nations signified their concurrence with the British proposal by April 13, and the opening of the special session was set for April 28. On April 21-22 the five Arab members of the United Nations requested that an additional item regarding "the termination of the mandate over Palestine and the declaration of its independence" be included on the agenda, but the request was turned down by the Assembly.

The British proposal was discussed, frequently with considerable passion, during fifteen plenary meetings of the Assembly (April 28-May 6, and May 14-15), and twelve intervening meetings of the Political and Security Committee (May 7-13). The Jewish Agency and the Arab Higher Committee, non-governmental organizations, were specifically given permission to testify before the latter body. The Arab states, supported consistently by Afghanistan and Turkey and frequently by India and Iran, presented the Palestine Arab case at great length. Their position was challenged primarily by the delegates of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and South Africa, who took up the Zionist cause. The debate boiled itself down to two main issues: the composition of the proposed investigative body, and its terms of reference.

As regards the first, the differences among the Big Powers over the Palestine problem were brought into clear focus. Great Britain, with the backing of the United States and China, urged that the inquiry committee be made up entirely of "neutral" members and that the Big Five should therefore be ex-

cluded. To this viewpoint the USSR took exception, arguing that the five permanent members of the Security Council "should, along with all other Member nations, assume responsibility not only for the final solution but for all preparatory steps leading to it." France remained lukewarm, although professing no objections to Big Five participation. The stand of Great Britain, the United States, and China was finally endorsed by the Assembly, which resolved that the inquiry committee should consist of the representatives of Australia, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, India, Iran, Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay, and Yugoslavia.

With respect to the terms of reference, the Arab states insisted that the problem of displaced persons should not be linked with that of Palestine, that the committee should be instructed to examine only conditions in Palestine, and that the committee should concern itself with the grant of independence as the most appropriate solution. These views were not shared by the majority of the delegates, as evidenced by the Assembly's resolution. The inquiry committee was endowed with "the widest powers to ascertain and record facts, and to investigate all questions and issues relevant to the problem of Palestine; . . . [to] determine its own procedure; . . . [to] conduct investigations in Palestine and wherever it may deem useful; . . . [to] give most careful consideration to the religious interests in Palestine of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity; . . . [and to] prepare a report to the General Assembly . . . not later than September 1, 1947. . . ." The Arab delegates reserved the position of their governments regarding the final recommendations of the inquiry committee.

The first meeting of the inquiry committee was held on May 26, when it was disclosed that the members and their staff would proceed by plane to Palestine early in June. On the same day, Secretary-General Trygve Lie disqualified a Jewish and a Moslem member of the Secretariat staff from accompanying the committee in order to preserve intact the latter's "neutrality."

On May 14 the Soviet delegate declared before the Assembly that if a unitary Arab-

Jewish state with equal rights for both peoples proved unrealizable, it would be necessary to consider as an alternative "the division of Palestine into two independent, separate states—one, Jewish, and one, Arab." Any optimism engendered by this statement with respect to the possibility of Big Five agreement on a final solution of the Palestine problem was tempered on May 29 by British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, when he asserted that he personally would not be bound by any United Nations decision regarding a final settlement unless it was unanimous.

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CHRONOLOGY

1947

Mar. 1: British officers' club in Jerusalem was blown up by the Irgun Zvai Leumi (IZL).

Protesters to the British seizure on Feb. 28 of 1,398 unauthorized Jewish immigrants on board the *Haim Arlosoroff* set fires and caused explosions in Haifa.

An attack was made on the British Army camp at Nathanya.

Mar. 2: Statutory martial law was imposed on certain districts in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and the coastal area 20 miles north of Tel Aviv.

Mar. 3: The IZL declared "open warfare" in Palestine; five hand grenades were thrown into a British military office in Haifa.

Mar. 5: The High Court in Jerusalem rejected the application for a writ of habeas corpus filed Feb. 28 on behalf of the unauthorized immigrants of the *Haim Arlosoroff*.

Mar. 6: British authorities announced that 25 "known terrorists" had been recently arrested within martial-law areas.

Mar. 9: British authorities seized the *Abril*, a ship carrying unauthorized immigrants and sponsored by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation.

Mar. 12: More than 800 unauthorized immigrants were captured in southern Palestine when landing from the beached ship, *Susanna*.

Mar. 13: The Palestine Government announced that 78 persons, allegedly terrorists, had been arrested with the aid of the Jewish community.

Mar. 14: The first meeting of the emergency session of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine convened in Jerusalem.

Mar. 16: The government announced the offer of temporary employment in the Palestine police

force for Arabs destitute because of drought in southern Palestine.

The Jewish Agency office in Jerusalem was damaged by terrorists' bombs.

British Army Naafi store near Hadera was destroyed by terrorists.

Mar. 17: Statutory martial law imposed Mar. 2 was ended.

Mar. 24: The emergency session of the Executive of the Jewish Agency ended.

Mar. 24-28: Lieut. Generals Sir Alan Cunningham, High Commissioner, and G. H. A. MacMillan, military commander in Palestine, were in London for consultations.

Mar. 26: The Privy Council in London rejected a petition filed by Dov Gruner's uncle for permission to appeal in his behalf. [Gruner was a member of the IZL sentenced to death by a Palestine military court.]

Mar. 30: British naval forces aided the listing ship, the *Moledet*, with 1,600 unauthorized Jewish immigrants aboard.

Mar. 31: Fires set by the Stern Group to Haifa oil installations of the Shell Oil Co. destroyed tanks used for storing oil for domestic use in Palestine and caused damage estimated at \$1,000,000.

Apr. 2: Britain formally requested a special session of the United Nations General Assembly on Palestine.

Apr. 9: The Palestine Government, by legislative decree, assumed powers of military dictatorship.

Apr. 11: A Jew who entered the precincts of the Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem was killed by a Moslem mob.

Apr. 13: Members of the United Nations were called to an extraordinary session of the General Assembly, Apr. 28, to consider the Palestine issue.

British forces took over the *Theodor Herzl* (formerly the *Guardian*) with about 2,700 unauthorized immigrants aboard.

Apr. 16: Four convicted terrorists were hanged at Acre prison: Dov Gruner, Dov Rosenbaum, Eliezer Kashani, and Mordecai Alkachi.

Regulations were effected which abolished the right of appeal against any judgment or sentence of any military court or of the General Officer Commanding in relation to any conviction by a military court. (London *Times*, Apr. 17, 1947, page 4.)

Apr. 18: Underground groups began a series of attacks on British forces in reprisal for the hanging of the four convicted terrorists, Apr. 16.

Apr. 21: Convicted Jewish terrorists, Meir Feinstein and Moshe Barazani, committed suicide in prison.

Apr. 22: A train from Cairo to Haifa was blown up by the IZL near Rehovoth, killing eight persons.

Apr. 25: Five Britishers were killed in a Stern Group attack on the Saron police compound.

Apr. 28: The special session of the General Assembly to study the Palestine issue opened in New York.

May 4: 216 prisoners, 33 of whom were Jews, were freed by an IZL attack on the central prison at Acre.

May 7: Colonial Secretary Arthur Creech Jones told the House of Commons that in the year ended Apr. 30, 1947, 97 terrorists in Palestine had been sentenced to prison, and 28 sentenced to death.

May 8: The Jewish Agency case was presented to the First (Political and Security) Committee of the General Assembly by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. (Text in *New York Times*, May 9, 1947, page 4.)

May 9: Henry Cattani addressed the General Assembly's First Committee on behalf of the Palestinian Arabs. (Text in *New York Times*, May 10, 1947, page 5.)

May 11: Fifty suspected terrorists were sent from Palestine to Gilgil, Kenya Colony, East Africa.

May 13: The First Committee of the General Assembly adopted the terms of reference for the special committee of inquiry on Palestine. (Text in *New York Times*, May 14, 1947, p. 4.)

May 14: Andrei Gromyko, USSR representative at the special session of the General Assembly, stated Russian policy on Palestine: it hoped for one nation in Palestine with guarantees for both Jews and Arabs; or, if that were impossible, partition. (Text in *New York Times*, May 15, 1947, page 8.)

May 14-15: The railroad between Haifa and Lydda was damaged by terrorists' mine blasts; two British officers were killed and seven other persons were wounded.

May 15: The special session of the United Nations General Assembly was ended after the Assembly had accepted the resolution setting up an eleven-nation committee of inquiry to investigate the Palestine situation and report by Sept. 1, 1947.

May 16: Official figures listed 75 dead and 196 injured as the result of terrorists' activities since Jan. 1, 1947.

May 17: The *Ha-Tiqvah*, with about 1,400 unauthorized Jewish immigrants aboard, was taken by British forces.

May 18: Jewish extremist groups proclaimed their refusal to cease activities during the UN inquiry unless the British forces in Palestine

also refrained from their actions against unauthorized immigration.

May 19: It was announced that the New Zionist Organization, which had split from the World Zionist Organization in 1935, had been dissolved.

May 21: Members of Haganah attacked a group of "Arab brigands" who had been assaulting Jewish settlers near Tel Aviv in recent months; one Arab was killed and seven wounded.

May 22: Speaking at the final meeting of the three-day session of Vaad Leumi, David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, indicated that the Zionists might accept a form of partition.

May 23: The *Mordei ha-Getaot*, with 1,500 unauthorized immigrants aboard, was taken by British forces.

May 26: A Jewish Agency spokesman stated that Ben Gurion's views on partition as expressed on May 22 were his own and not official Jewish Agency policy.

May 27: The railroad line was attacked in three places near Lydda and Haifa — the first act by terrorists since May 14-15.

May 29: British Foreign Secretary Bevin, speaking at the Labor Party conference, stated that he personally would not feel bound by any United Nations decision regarding Palestine unless it was unanimous. (*London Times*, May 30, 1947, page 4.)

May 31: 399 unauthorized immigrants from French North Africa reached Palestine under British naval escort.

Saudi Arabia

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Apr. 4: *L'Orient*, quoting *Alif Ba*, Damascus newspaper, reported that King Ibn Saud had prohibited immigration into Saudi Arabia of nationals of the Yemen and the Hadramaut.

Apr. 7: The Supreme National Defense Council of China approved the recent amity pact between China and Saudi Arabia.

Syria

CHRONOLOGY

1947

Apr. 2: Paul H. Alling, Consul General at Tangier, was nominated American Minister to Syria. (*Palestine Affairs*, Apr. 1947, page 44.)

- Apr. 10:* Syria joined the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund.
- Apr. 23:* Nain Antaki, vice president of the Syrian delegation to UN, and Dr. Farid Zayn al-Din, new Syrian minister to Moscow, arrived in the U. S.
- Apr. 28:* Syria and the U. S. signed an air agreement allowing Pan American to make traffic stops at Damascus.
- May 12:* The Prime Minister announced that Syria would get LS 750,000 a year for the right of passage and protection of the Iraq Petroleum Company's pipe lines which cross Syria.
- May 20:* A law providing for a three-year prison sentence for any Syrian selling land in Palestine to Jews or smuggling Jews into Palestine through Syria was promulgated by President Shukri al-Quwwatli.
- May 27:* President Shukri al-Quwwatli signed decrees providing for direct election of deputies to Parliament, elections being scheduled for the first two weeks in July.

Transjordan

CHRONOLOGY

1947

- Mar. 1:* The new constitution for the Kingdom of Transjordan became effective. (For text, see page 322.)
- Mar. 22:* King Abdallah declared his opposition to partition of Palestine, and announced that if Britain evacuated any of the country, his forces would occupy it.
- Apr. 4:* *L'Orient* (Beirut) reported that the Turko-Transjordan Treaty became effective through an exchange of ratifications.
- Apr. 10:* Nuri al-Said Pasha, president of the Iraqi Senate, arrived in Amman to begin discussions on steps to bring about a union of the two countries in regard to finances, foreign affairs, and defense.
- May 12:* It was reported that Transjordan had given Petroleum Development (Transjordan) Ltd., a subsidiary of the IPC, 75 year rights to explore and develop oil and gas resources in Transjordan. (Terms in brief in *New York Times*, May 13, 1947, page 27.)

Turkey

CHRONOLOGY

1947

- Mar. 11:* Turkey became a member of the Inter-

- national Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.
- Mar. 12:* In a message to Congress, President Truman urged an extension of assistance to Turkey and Greece. (Text in *New York Times*, Mar. 13, 1947, page 2.)
- Mar. 20:* Edwin C. Wilson, U. S. Ambassador to Turkey, arrived in the U. S.
- Apr. 4:* *L'Orient* (Beirut) reported that the Turko-Transjordan Treaty became effective through an exchange of ratifications.
- Apr. 6-7:* By-elections for nine vacant Parliament seats were held and won by the People's Party candidates; the Democrats did not participate.
- Apr. 9:* It was announced that nearly 500 British fighter planes of World War II type had been sold to Turkey, and that Turkey had hired nine American experts to aid in the reorganization of railroads, sea transport, and telephone and telegraph communications.
- Apr. 10:* Ahmet Emin Yalman, publisher of *Vatan*, and two members of his staff were sentenced to five months imprisonment on the charge that articles in *Vatan* had offended the dignity of the mayor of Izmir.
- Apr. 13:* An American delegation of four Senators and six Representatives visited Ankara.
- Apr. 28:* Ambassador Wilson returned to Ankara.
- May 1:* Italo-Turkish trade treaty became effective.
- May 2:* The U. S. aircraft carrier *Leyte*, the cruiser *Dayton*, and the escort destroyers *Purdy* and *Bristol* paid an official visit to Istanbul.
- May 5:* The Simplon Express, Paris to Istanbul, resumed operations. (*London Times*, May 8, 1947, page 3.)
- May 11:* The death sentence was approved by the National Assembly for two Turkish citizens, Mustafa Abdullah Sagir and Ivan Mitemso, convicted of espionage on behalf of the USSR in the Kars area.
- May 12:* President Ismet Inönü announced that Turkey would use the prospective U. S. loan for military purposes, and would seek in addition a loan from the International Bank.
- May 19:* The ailing Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church, Maximos V, left Istanbul for Greece.
- An American naval mission arrived in Ankara on a two-day visit.
- May 22:* President Truman signed the Greek-Turkish Aid Bill. (For text of bill see *Department of State Bulletin*, June 1, 1947, p. 1070ff.)
- May 24:* Eight American-built minesweepers operated by the British since the Normandy invasion were turned over to the Turkish Government.

May 25: Nazmi Kismir, Turkish Finance Minister, announced decrees ending restrictions on foreign capital, so making it possible for foreign enterprise to invest in Turkish industry and to take profits out of the country, and also facilitating the drawing of foreign exchange by tourists.

May 28: Martial law for Istanbul and five adjoining provinces of northwestern Turkey was extended for another six months by Parliament, the fourteenth time since 1940. The move was

protested by the opposition Democratic Party.

Yemen

CHRONOLOGY

1947

May 24: An agreement was signed with the U. S. granting the Yemen credit up to \$1,000,000 for the purchase of surplus material from the Foreign Liquidation Commission before Jan. 1, 1948.

DOCUMENTS

Statement of NUQRASHI PASHA, Prime Minister of Egypt, on the breakdown of treaty negotiations with Great Britain, March 3, 1947. (As quoted in the London Times, March 4, 1947, page 3.)

Negotiations between Egypt and Great Britain began in April, 1946, and lasted 10 months, during which the Egyptian side earnestly tried in every way to come to an agreement. This was clearly demonstrated by the journey undertaken by the Egyptian Prime Minister to London for the purpose of a personal meeting with Mr. Bevin. The final breaking off of these arduous negotiations may be attributed only to the inability of Egypt to obtain satisfaction on the two essential points which are unanimously claimed by the Egyptian people.

These two points are as follows:—(1) The evacuation of British troops from Egypt. This evacuation must be immediate, complete, and not conditioned by the treaty. (2) The maintenance of the unity of Egypt and the Sudan, self-government for the Sudanese, and the restoration to Egypt of her rights in the administration of the Sudan in order to further the preparation of the Sudanese for self-government. The unity of Egypt and the Sudan is the will of both Egyptians and Sudanese alike, whereas British policy is directed to inciting the Sudanese to secede from Egypt.

As for self-government, had Egypt not been forcibly deprived of her rights in the administration of the Sudan the preparation of the Sudanese for self-government would not be so delayed. Egypt is in a better position and is more anxious than Britain to prepare for self-government a people of the same race, same language, and same religion and dependent for their existence on the same Nile. Egypt wants the Sudanese to be able as soon as possible to express their views

freely, and this can be accomplished only when British troops have evacuated the Sudan.

The two preceding points are a fair application of the principles of the United Nations Charter. For that reason, after exceptionally prolonged negotiations the Egyptian Government, regretfully convinced that direct discussions held no hope of success, decided to appeal to the Security Council. This decision has received the enthusiastic endorsement of the entire Egyptian people. Egypt has abiding faith in the United Nations and is absolutely confident that justice will be accorded a small nation which has always firmly upheld the principles of the supremacy of international law.

Reply of PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE in the House of Commons to the statement of Egyptian Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha on the breaking off of treaty negotiations, March 11, 1947. (As quoted in the London Times, March 12, 1947, page 4.)

The statement issued by the Egyptian Prime Minister on the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations stated that the final breaking off of these negotiations might be attributed only to the inability of Egypt to obtain satisfaction on the following two essential points:—(1) The evacuation of British troops from Egypt. This evacuation must be immediate, complete and not conditioned by a treaty. (2) The maintenance of the unity of Egypt and the Sudan, self-government for the Sudanese and the restoration to Egypt of her rights in the administration of the Sudan in order to further the preparation of the Sudanese for self-government.

This declaration can best be judged in the

light of the agreements reached between Sidky Pasha and the Foreign Secretary in London last October. These agreements provided for mutual arrangements for defence, arrangements for evacuation, and for the Sudan. The agreements were initialed by the two statesmen in London *ad referendum* to their Governments. The Egyptian Government submitted them to the Egyptian Chamber of Deputies on November 26 and received a vote of confidence. Thereupon the Egyptian Government informed his Majesty's Government on December 1 that they were ready to sign the treaty and the two annexes dealing with evacuation and the Sudan. The Foreign Secretary, in his statement in the House of Commons on January 27, made quite clear the sole reason why the signature did not in fact take place, namely the endeavour of the Egyptian Government to construe one phrase of the protocol on the Sudan as meaning that they could rely on the support of his Majesty's Government to deny to the Sudanese complete freedom of choice when the time came for them to choose their future status.

The British Government had already agreed, as part of the above arrangements, to the complete evacuation of British troops in Egypt by 1949. This is not an excessive period for the winding up of the immense commitments built up by the British Army in Egypt, which was its main base for the war in which British arms saved Egypt from being overrun by the Nazis.

As already indicated by the Foreign Secretary in this House, the British Government are also in favour of eventual self-government for the Sudanese, who, when the time comes for them to choose their future status, would not be debarred from choosing complete independence or some form of association with Egypt, or even complete union if they wished. It is not true, therefore, to say that "British policy is directed towards inciting the Sudanese to secede from Egypt."

The Egyptian statement also says that the Sudanese are a people of the same race, language, and religion as the Egyptians. I should point out that the Sudanese comprise many races and types, Nilotic, Hamitic, and Negro besides Arabs. Furthermore, out of ap-

proximately 7,000,000 Sudanese more than 2,500,000 are not Muslim nor Arabic speaking.

It is also stated that the Sudanese will only be able to express their views freely when British troops have evacuated the Sudan. British troops, in common with Egyptian troops, are in the Sudan at the disposal of the Governor-General for the defence of that country. It is incorrect to say that the presence of either the British or the Egyptian troops makes it impossible for the Sudanese to express their views freely.

Statement of FOREIGN MINISTER BEVIN in the House of Commons on Anglo-Egyptian relations, May 16, 1947. (As quoted in part in the London Times, May 17, 1947, page 4.)

I would like to say with emphasis that in all the negotiations with Egypt there has been and will be no attempt to appease the Egyptian Government at the expense of the Sudanese people. I offered a just settlement, but I never attempted to buy it. It has been my endeavour to put the relationship between Egypt and Great Britain on a different and more modern level, on the basis of an alliance on an equal footing rather than that of occupation. His Majesty's Government went as far as they could to try to meet both the Egyptian and Sudanese positions. They can go no farther. I cannot, even if they take it to the Security Council, go any farther than the offers we have made.

[I have] been asked why we did not withdraw our troops immediately after the war. This mass of troops was put in to defend Egypt and the allied cause. This was a great transit area, therefore the whole of the return of the British Commonwealth to a peacetime military footing was bound up largely with this centre. It would not be fair merely to close it down and not provide alternative accommodation for our men. Sidki Pasha at the time recognized the force of this and dates were fixed. But now our conditions of withdrawal [have] been rejected by Egypt we [stand] by the 1936 treaty.

Reply of NUQRASHI PASHA, Prime Minister of Egypt, to British Foreign Minister Bevin's statement in the House of Commons on Anglo-Egyptian relations, May 18, 1947. (As quoted in the London Times, May 19, 1947, page 4.)

The continued presence of British troops infringes on the sovereignty of our free and independent nation. The British Government know as well that the maintenance of their troops in our country is against the will of the people. We demand unanimously that these troops be completely and immediately withdrawn and that this withdrawal be not dependent on the revision of an old treaty or the conclusion of a new one.

The British say they are prepared to evacuate provided Egypt agrees to the kind of treaty they desire. They say that unless that treaty is signed the 1936 treaty will remain in force, which means that British troops will remain in Egypt. The 1936 treaty was concluded in special circumstances which no longer exist. The war which was then imminent ended long ago. In this and other connexions the 1936 treaty has fulfilled its objects.

We cannot accept the continuation in force of a treaty which is contrary to the United Nations Charter, and I am sure that no member-State of the United Nations will agree to forcing us to accept foreign troops in our territory. In the Sudan Great Britain has pursued a policy with a view to encouraging the Sudanese to secede from Egypt. This policy is hostile to both Egypt and the Sudan. The unity of Egypt and the Sudan is the will of the people of the Nile Valley.

The freedom of the Sudanese has never been, and will never be, impaired by this unity. It is essential to the security of the Sudan and the development of the vital interests of the Sudanese. Unity will enable the Sudanese to run their own affairs in the way they themselves deem best.

The British troops in the Sudan are the result of the earlier British occupation of Egypt. These troops have no more right to stay in the Sudan than they have to stay in Egypt.

We are going to the United Nations to obtain a just settlement of our dispute with

Great Britain. The principle of the sovereign equality of all its members, on which the United Nations was founded, will guarantee Egypt her rights.

THE CONSTITUTION OF TRANSJORDAN¹

(Unofficial translation)

INTRODUCTION

1. This law is called the "Constitution of Transjordan" and its provisions shall apply to all of the regions of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan. It shall enter into force one month after its publication in the *Official Gazette*.

2. The Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan is an independent sovereign state whose religion is Islam. It is free and independent, with a dominion that is indivisible and no part of which may be ceded. Its form of government is that of an hereditary monarchy.

3. The capital of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan is Amman, but the capital may be changed to another place by a special law.

4. The Transjordan flag shall have the following form and dimensions: Its length shall be twice its width, and it shall be divided horizontally into three equal parallel stripes, the uppermost being black, the middle white, and the lowest green. There shall be placed at its flagstaff end a red triangle, with its base equal to the width of the flag and its altitude equal to one-half its length. In this triangle there shall be a white seven-pointed star that is able to fit into a circle whose diameter is one-fourteenth the length of the flag and placed in such a way that its center is at the point where the angle

¹ The Constitution of Transjordan was published in the *Official Gazette*, No. 886, Feb. 1, 1947, and became effective one month later. It replaces the Constitution of 1928 adopted while the country was still under British mandate. Acknowledgments are due to Dr. Sidney S. Glazer of the Library of Congress, Dr. Herbert J. Liebesny of the Foundation for Foreign Affairs, and the Arab Office in London for their co-operation and assistance in securing the text of the Constitution, and in preparing and checking the translation.

bisectors intersect and its axis through one of its points is parallel to the base of the triangle.

PART I

RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE

5. The law shall define Transjordan nationality.

6. Although they may differ in race, language, or religion, Transjordanians are equal before the law, with no distinction among them as to rights and duties.

7. Personal freedom is guaranteed.

8. No one may be arrested or detained except in accordance with the provisions of the law.

9. A Transjordanian may live anywhere. He does not have to remain in any given place except under circumstances specified in the law.

10. Homes are inviolable and they may not be entered except under the circumstances set forth in the law and in the manner specified therein.

11. No one's property may be seized except in the public interest under circumstances which shall be defined by law and on condition that compensation therefor shall be paid.

12. There shall be no forced loans nor shall movable property be confiscated except in accordance with the law.

13. No compulsory labor shall be exacted from anyone. However, a provision may be enacted in accordance with the laws that shall impose:

(a) Work or service on any person in an emergency, such as a state of war; or at the occurrence or danger of the occurrence of fire, flood, famine, earthquake; serious epidemics affecting human beings or animals; animal, insect, or plant blights, or any other comparable blight; or in any other circumstances that may expose the safety of all or some of the population to danger.

(b) Work or service on any person as a result of his being condemned by court; however, he shall do such work or service under the supervision and control of official authority. The condemned person shall not be let for hire to individuals, companies or associations, or placed at their disposal.

14. No tax shall be imposed except by law. However, such provision shall not apply to the fees received by the departments of the Government in return for public services or to the profits derived from the properties of the Government.

15. Arabic is the official language.

16. The State shall protect the freedom to perform religious ceremonies and rites in accordance with the customs observed in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan unless they are injurious to order or are contrary to morals.

17. Freedom of opinion is guaranteed and every one may express his thoughts in speech or in writing within the limits of the law.

18. Transjordanians have the right to assemble and to form societies within the limits of the law.

19. Transjordanians have the right to petition the public authorities in regard to personal affairs and in regard to such public affairs as may concern them in a manner and under conditions to be prescribed by law.

20. All postal and telegraphic communications as well as telephone calls shall be considered confidential and not subject to censorship or detention except under the circumstances prescribed by law.

21. Societies shall have the right to establish and maintain schools for the instruction of their members, provided that they meet the general requirements prescribed by law.

PART II

THE KING AND HIS RIGHTS

22. (a) With due regard for the provisions of this law, executive power shall be vested in King Abdallah Ibn al-Husayn and his male heirs after him, as will be set forth in the following clause.

(b) With due regard for the provisions of clauses (c) and (d) of this article, the heir to the throne at the death of the incumbent² shall be his eldest son in the direct line. If he should have no son, the succession shall go to the eldest of his brothers; if he should have no brothers,³ then to the eldest son of his brothers; and similarly to his paternal

² Literally, owner of the throne.

³ I.e., all brothers having predeceased the King.

uncles and the males who follow them in accordance with the legal rules of inheritance.

And if—God forbid!—the last King should die without an heir, according to what has just been stated, the kingship will revert to him whom the National Assembly may choose from among the heirs of the founder of the Arab national awakening, King Husayn Ibn Ali—may God have mercy on him!

(c) No one shall ascend the throne unless he is of sound mind, a Moslem, and a son of Moslem parents.

(d) None of those who are excluded by royal irade from the inheritance because of unfitness shall ascend the throne. This exclusion naturally will not apply to the descendants of such person.

(e) The age of majority for the King shall be reached at the completion of the 18th year computed on the basis of the lunar calendar. If the throne devolves upon one who has not reached this age, a Regent or Council of Regency to be appointed by royal irade issued by the former King shall exercise the functions of the King. However, if he should die without having designated a Regent, the Council of Ministers shall do so.

(f) If the King should become incapable of fulfilling his duties because of illness, a Deputy or a Council of the Throne shall exercise his functions. The Deputy or Council of the Throne shall be appointed by royal irade and in the event that the King is unable to make this appointment, the Council of Ministers shall do so.

(g) Before leaving the country, His Majesty must appoint by royal irade a Deputy or Council of the Throne to exercise his functions during the period of his absence, with due regard for the conditions that may be included in that irade.

(h) Neither the Regent nor the Deputy nor any member of the Council of Regency shall begin or conduct the work of his office unless he has sworn the oath prescribed in Article 23 of this law. If the National Assembly is in session, he shall take the oath there in accordance with the terms of the said article; otherwise, he shall take it before the Council of Ministers.

If the Regent, Deputy, or any member

of the Council of Regency or Council of the Throne should die or become incapable of performing the tasks of his office, the Council of Ministers shall then appoint a suitable person to take his place, provided that the Regent, Deputy of the King, or member of the Council of Regency or Council of the Throne be no less than 30 years of age. However, one of the male relatives of the King may be appointed if he has completed his 18th year.

23. Before the King assumes his constitutional power, he shall swear an oath before the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, who shall meet under the presidency of the President of the Senate, that he will safeguard the provisions of the Constitution and be loyal to the people and the country.

24. The King is the supreme head of the State; he is immune and not responsible.

25. The King shall sanction and promulgate all laws, and supervise their execution. He may not amend, suspend, or defer laws, or give dispensation in their execution except under the circumstances and in the fashion prescribed by law.

26. (a) The King is the supreme commander of the land, sea, and air forces.

(b) The King declares war and ratifies treaties after the consent of the Council of Ministers.

(c) The King issues orders for the holding of elections to the Chamber of Deputies, summons the National Assembly to meet, opens, adjourns, prorogues, and dismisses it in accordance with the terms of the law.

27. (a) The Council of Ministers shall consist of the Prime Minister as chief and other Ministers whose number shall not exceed five.

(b) The King shall appoint the Prime Minister and he may entrust him with one or more portfolios. The King shall appoint the Ministers at the suggestion of the Prime Minister, and he may entrust each of them with one or more portfolios, as defined in the decree of appointment.

(c) The functions of the Prime Minister, the Ministers, and the Council of Ministers shall be defined in regulations issued by the said Council and sanctioned by the King. There shall be vested in the afore-

mentioned Council the administration of all the internal and external affairs of the Government with the exception of such affairs as may be delegated to any other person or body in accordance with this law or any other law or order issued in conformity therewith.

(d) A Minister is responsible for the administration of everything connected with his Ministry. He must present to the Prime Minister any matter not falling within his competence. The Prime Minister shall dispose of whatever is in his competence and turn over other matters to the Council of Ministers.

(e) The members of the aforementioned Council shall sign the decrees of the Council of Ministers and these shall be submitted — in the cases defined in this law or in any law or regulation issued in conformity therewith, wherein it is so required — to the King for sanction. The Prime Minister and the Ministers each within the limits of his competence shall execute these decrees.

28. (a) The Prime Minister and the Ministers are jointly responsible to the King for the general policy of the State; likewise, each Minister is responsible to the King for his office or offices.

(b) The King dismisses the Prime Minister and accepts his resignation from office.

(c) The King dismisses the Ministers and accepts their resignation from office with the approval of the Prime Minister.

(d) In the case of dismissal or resignation of the Prime Minister, all of the Ministers shall, by the nature of the situation, be regarded as dismissed or as having resigned.

29. The King appoints the President of the Senate and its members, and accepts their resignation from office.

30. The King grants and withdraws army and police ranks except in so far as he has delegated by a special law a portion of this authority to another person. He awards decorations and other titles of honor.

31. No death sentence shall be carried out except after confirmation by the King, and every sentence of this kind shall be referred to him by the Council of Ministers accompanied by an expression of its opinion. The King may reduce sentences and he may re-

mit them by special pardon, and, with the consent of the Assembly, he may declare a general amnesty.

32. The King shall exercise his functions by irades. Irades shall be issued at the suggestion of the responsible Minister or Ministers with the concurrence of the Prime Minister and they shall sign them. The King shall show his approval by affixing his signature above the aforementioned signatures.

PART III

THE LEGISLATURE

33. The legislative power is vested in the National Assembly and the King. The National Assembly shall consist of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber of Deputies shall consist of representatives elected in accordance with the electoral law in which due regard has to be given to the fair representation of minorities. The duration of the Chamber of Deputies is four years.

34. The King shall open the National Assembly in person, but he may deputize the Prime Minister or one of the Ministers for that purpose to perform the opening ceremonies and deliver the Speech from the Throne.

35. No one shall be a member of either the Senate or the Chamber of Deputies:

(a) Who is not a Transjordanian.

(b) Who claims foreign nationality or protection.

(c) Who has not completed his 30th year in the case of a Deputy, or his 40th year in the case of a Senator.

(d) Who has been adjudged bankrupt and has not been discharged.

(e) Who has been interdicted by a competent court and from whom the interdiction has not been removed.

(f) Who has been sentenced to prison for a period exceeding one year for a non-political crime and who has not been pardoned for the crime for which he has been sentenced.

(g) Who has a material interest arising from a contract other than that for the lease of land with one of the public departments of Transjordan, unless his interest arises from

his being a shareholder in a company consisting of more than ten persons.

(h) Who is insane or an idiot.

(i) Who is a relative of the King within such a degree as shall be prescribed by a special law.

36. The Senate shall be composed of members whose number shall not exceed one-half the members of the Chamber of Deputies, including the President. They shall be appointed by the King from among those who possess the confidence of the nation and on whose works and services in behalf of the people and the country the nation relies.

37. The term of membership in the Senate is eight years and half of the members shall be re-elected by lot every four years. Reappointment of those who have lost is permissible.

The term of the President of the Senate is two years and he may be reappointed.

38. The Senate shall meet and terminate its sessions at the same time as the Chamber of Deputies.

39. With due regard for the provision in this law regarding dissolution, the Chamber of Deputies shall hold one ordinary session during each year of its term.

40. (a) The King shall summon the National Assembly, unless it is dissolved at the time, to meet in the capital for its ordinary session on the first of November of every year; and if that day should be an official holiday, then on the first day thereafter which is not an official holiday. However, the King may defer by an irade published in the *Official Gazette* the meeting of the Assembly that is answering that summons for a period of time not to exceed two months and to a date specified in the irade.

(b) If the King does not summon the Assembly to meet in accordance with the preceding clause, it shall meet of its own volition, as though it were summoned in accordance therewith.

(c) The Assembly shall begin its ordinary session on the date on which the meeting is convoked in accordance with the two preceding clauses of this article and it shall continue for three months unless the King dissolves the Assembly before the expiration of that term. However, the King may

extend the session for another period not to exceed three months in order to finish up urgent business. At the end of the first period of three months or any extension thereof, the Assembly shall be dismissed.

(d) The Chamber of Deputies may adjourn from time to time in conformity with its internal regulations.

(e) The King may adjourn by irade sessions of the Chamber of Deputies only three times. Or, in the event that the meeting of the Assembly has been deferred in accordance with clause (a) of this article, it shall be [only] twice in the course of any one session and for stated periods which taken together shall not exceed the two months for which there may be a deferment of this kind. In computing the period of the session, the periods covered by these adjournments shall not be taken into account. The irade on adjournment shall be read at the meeting of the Chamber of Deputies.

41. If the Chamber of Deputies is dissolved, a general election shall be held and the new Chamber shall meet in extraordinary session within at most four months from the date of dissolution, and such a session shall be regarded as extraordinary and subject to the provisions for extension and postponement like an ordinary session, in accordance with the terms of Article 40 of this law. In any event, this session shall be prorogued on October 31st in order to enable the Chamber to hold its first ordinary session on November 1st. If an extraordinary session should be held in the months of November and December, it shall be considered as the first ordinary session of the said Chamber of Deputies.

The King may summon the Chamber to meet in an extraordinary session apart from its ordinary session for the purpose of settling specific matters that must be defined when the summons is issued. Such a session shall be dissolved by royal irade.

The Chamber may not at the extraordinary session discuss any matters, other than those specified in the irade and for which the summons was issued.

42. Each Deputy and Senator shall, before commencing his work, take an oath before his House that he will be loyal to the King

and that he will safeguard the Constitution, serve the nation, and diligently perform the duties entrusted to him.

43. The King shall appoint a President for the Chamber of Deputies for a term of one year, and his appointment shall be renewable.

44. The Prime Minister or a Minister who is a member of either of the two Houses has the right to vote in his House and the right to speak in both Houses. Ministers who are not members of either House may speak in them, but they do not have the right to vote. Ministers, or persons representing them, have the right of precedence over other members in addressing the Houses. A Minister who receives the salary of the Ministry shall not, at the same time, have the right to receive the membership allowance of either House.

45. Each House shall make internal regulations for the control and regulation of its proceedings and these regulations shall come into effect after sanction by the King.

46. No business except that of adjournment shall be transacted unless two-thirds of the members of the House are present.

47. (a) A House shall reach decisions by a majority of the votes of the members present, excluding the President, unless otherwise stipulated in this law. The President shall not vote unless there is a tie, at which time he must cast the deciding vote.

(b) No change may be made in the Constitution unless sanctioned by a majority of no less than two-thirds of the members of the Assembly.

48. (1) Every draft law shall be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies. No draft law shall be regarded as law unless approved by both Houses and sanctioned by the King.

(2) a. The budget, too, like all draft laws, shall be submitted to the Chamber of Deputies and the principles set forth in the preceding clause shall obtain.

b. The budget shall be voted on section by section.

c. The National Assembly, in the event of a debate on the budget or temporary laws connected with it, may not increase the expenditures therein either by amendment or by the aforementioned method of voting on sections. However, after the end of the

debate, it may propose the drafting of laws for the purpose of creating new expenditures.

d. During the debate on the budget, no motion shall be accepted which provides for the nullification of an existing tax, the creation of a new tax, or modification of present taxes by increasing or diminishing the items which have been established by the current fiscal laws.

e. No motion shall be accepted which would lead to a change in the present structure of the Government, such as the abolition of an existing function, the creation of a new one, or an increase in or diminution of salaries.

f. No motion for a modification of expenditures or revenues connected with contracts shall be accepted.

49. If one of the two Houses rejects a draft law twice and the other insists upon its acceptance, a joint session of the members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies shall be held under the presidency of the President of the Senate to discuss only the articles about which there is a dispute. If a majority of the joint session accept the draft law as modified, it shall be considered as accepted by both Houses, but the draft law shall not be regarded as law until sanctioned by the King. A draft law that is rejected in such joint session shall not be submitted a second time to the Assembly during the same meeting.

If the Assembly refuses to consider the draft of the budget, the Council of Ministers, with the consent of the King, may decide to consider this budget as operative in the form in which it was submitted to the Assembly.

50. No law shall become effective until it has been approved by the King, with his signature affixed thereto as an indication of that approval. It shall become effective one month after its publication in the *Official Gazette* unless there is a stipulation in the law that it shall become effective at some other date.

51. The King shall, in the course of one Christian year⁴ from the date of the submission of the law to him, either approve it in the form submitted to him by the Assem-

⁴ I.e., one calendar year.

bly or return it together with a statement of the reasons for his disapproval.

52. Any member of the Assembly may raise a question on any matter concerning the public administration.

53. Whenever the Assembly is not in session, the Council of Ministers shall, with the consent of the King, have the right to pass urgent temporary laws on any matter. These temporary laws, which must not violate the provisions of the Constitution, shall have the force of law, provided that they be submitted to the Assembly at the beginning of its next session. However, temporary laws passed to guarantee fulfillment of the treaty obligations of His Majesty need not be submitted in the aforementioned fashion.

If the Assembly in the said session does not confirm a temporary law that has been submitted to it in the aforementioned fashion, the same law shall be submitted again at the beginning of the following session unless the Council of Ministers, with the consent of the King, has decreed its withdrawal. In the event of withdrawal of the said temporary law or its non-confirmation a second time by the Assembly in its next session, the Council of Ministers, with the consent of the King, shall at once announce its repeal, and it shall cease from the date of that announcement to have the force of law.

If the Assembly refuses to confirm any law placed before it in order to guarantee fulfillment of the treaty obligations of the King, the Council of Ministers may, with the approval of the King, pass the necessary legislation in the form of a temporary law, and this temporary law shall not be submitted to the Assembly.

As for the temporary laws that were passed out of necessity for meeting urgent expenditures, they shall be submitted to the Assembly, like all temporary laws, whereupon whatever has been expended shall be considered as approved, with the possibility of reconsidering whatever has not been expended, provided that there be no contravention of legal contracts or acquired rights.

Temporary laws shall become effective in the same fashion as the laws defined in Article 50 of this law.

54. No member of the Assembly may be arrested or tried while the Assembly is in session unless a majority of the House to which he belongs decides that there exists sufficient cause for his being tried or unless he has been caught in the act of committing a crime.

Every member has complete freedom of speech within the limits of the regulations of the House to which he belongs, and no legal proceedings shall be directed against him because of any vote or opinion that he may express or speech that he may make during the deliberations of the Assembly.

If a member is arrested for any reason while the Assembly is not in session, the Prime Minister shall, when the Assembly reconvenes, notify it of the measures taken together with the necessary explanation.

PART IV THE JUDICATURE

55. Judges of the civil and religious courts shall be appointed by irade, and they shall not be removed except in accordance with the regulations promulgated by the Council of Ministers, with the approval of the King.

56. The courts shall be divided into three types:

- (1) Civil courts.
- (2) Religious courts.
- (3) Special courts.

57. With due regard for the provisions of this Constitution, the manner of establishing the Courts, their meeting places, grades, divisions, jurisdiction, and administration shall be prescribed by law.

58. The courts are open to all and are free from outside interference in the conduct of their affairs.

59. All trials shall be public. However, courts may sit *in camera* for reasons that shall be prescribed by law.

It shall be lawful to publish the proceedings and decisions of the courts except proceedings *in camera*.

All judgments shall be issued in the name of the King.

60. The civil courts have jurisdiction over

all persons in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan in all civil and criminal matters, including claims brought by and against the Government of Transjordan, except in such matters as may be assigned to the jurisdiction of religious courts or special courts in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution or any other law presently in force.

61. The civil courts shall exercise their civil and criminal jurisdiction in accordance with the law presently in force, provided that, in matters relating to the personal status of foreigners or in other civil and commercial matters wherein international usage requires the application of the law of another country, such law be applied in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Matters relating to personal status are those which fall within the exclusive competence of religious courts, if the parties in an action are Moslems.

62. The religious courts shall be divided into:

(a) Moslem courts.

(b) Religious community councils.

63. The Moslem courts have exclusive jurisdiction in matters of the personal status of Moslems in accordance with the provisions of the law on "Principles of Moslem Religious Courts" of October 25, 1333 A.H., as amended by any law or regulation. They shall have exclusive jurisdiction in matters relating to the establishment or internal administration of any *waqf* set up for the benefit of Moslems before a Moslem religious court.

Regulation of the affairs of the Moslem *waqf*'s, administration of their finances, etc. shall be prescribed by law.

The civil courts have jurisdiction in matters of personal status concerning both Moslems and non-Moslems or in an action concerning a Moslem *waqf* wherein one of the two parties is a non-Moslem, unless both litigants agree to accept the jurisdiction of the Moslem courts.

The Moslem courts likewise have jurisdiction in claims for blood-money when both parties are Moslems or when both parties agree to accept the jurisdiction therein of the said courts.

64. The Moslem courts shall exercise their

jurisdiction in accordance with the provisions of the religious law.

65. The religious community councils are the councils of non-Moslem religious communities that have been or will be recognized by the Government as established in Transjordan.

66. The religious community councils shall be constituted in a way to be defined by special laws. These laws shall define the said councils' functions which may or may not be restricted to the matters of personal status as prescribed in the aforementioned laws and to *waqf*'s set up for the benefit of that community alone. Matters of personal status are the same as matters of the personal status of Moslems falling within the competence of the religious courts.

There shall be defined in these laws the principles that the religious community councils must follow and the fees that they shall collect.

67. The special courts shall exercise their jurisdiction in accordance with the provisions of special laws.

68. (a) If the Prime Minister asks for the interpretation of a legal text which the courts have not interpreted in so far as it concerns the point whose interpretation is desired, the matter shall be examined by the *Diwan Khas* that shall meet for this purpose at the request of the Prime Minister.

(b) The *Diwan Khas* shall consist of the Minister of Justice, two senior administrative officials to be chosen by the Council of Ministers, and two senior officials from the Ministry of Justice to be chosen by the Supreme Judicial Tribunal.

(c) The *Diwan Khas* shall render its decision on the matter submitted to it, if the issuance of a decree thereon is deemed fitting.

(d) The decisions issued by the *Diwan Khas* and published in the *Official Gazette* shall have the effect of law; those involving any provision of the Constitution shall not be considered as in effect unless confirmed by the King.

(e) All other matters involving interpretation of the laws shall be decided by the courts in the regular manner at the time of their meeting.

PART V ADMINISTRATION

69. (a) The appointment of officials of the Government of Transjordan, their term of service, supervision, and dismissal shall be defined in a regulation to be issued by the Council of Ministers, with the approval of the King.

(b) The departments of the Government and the administrative divisions in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan, their classes, names, manner of their administration, and their officials shall be prescribed by regulations to be issued by the Council of Ministers, with the approval of the King, which shall limit the scope and nature of the jurisdiction of these administrative officials.

70. The municipal affairs of the cities and towns of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan shall be administered by municipal councils in accordance with a special law.

PART VI LAWS OF THE HASHIMITE KINGDOM OF TRANSJORDAN

71. Except for such matters as have been expressly prescribed by this law, the laws of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan are the laws in force at the time of the coming into effect of this Constitution until they are repealed or amended by legislation promulgated for that purpose.

The laws in force are:

(a) The Ottoman laws promulgated on or before November 1, 1914; the Ottoman laws that before the coming into effect of this Constitution were declared by proclamation as being in force, in so far as circumstances permit their application in the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan and in so far as these laws have not been repealed or amended by legislation in the said Kingdom.

(b) All the legislative acts effected by the constituted authority in Transjordan since September 23, 1918.

PART VII MISCELLANEOUS

72. All taxes collected and income derived

from the granting of mining rights or leases for mining or extraction of oil and from fees for leasing or renting lands in accordance with Article 77 of this law shall be paid to the Ministry of Finance unless the law prescribes otherwise.

73. No part of the funds in the Public Treasury shall be appropriated or expended for any kind of purpose whatsoever except by a law.

The appropriations for each year shall be sanctioned by an annual budget law that shall include the income and expenditure estimated for that year. However, it is possible for the said law to fix the appropriation and expenditure of certain sums for certain years.

74. The King's civil list shall be paid for out of revenue, and it shall be authorized in the said annual law.

75. The Council of Ministers, with the approval of the King, is permitted to issue regulations for the control of appropriations and expenditures of public funds and Government deposits.

76. (a) All rights governing the lands under the control of the Government, or which the Government has the right to dispose of, shall be vested in the King. He may exercise these rights in trust for the Government of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan.

(b) There shall be vested in the King, in trust for the Government of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan, all mines and minerals of any kind or description in any land or in, under, or on any water, whether they are coastal, river, or lake waters, with the exception, however, of any right that has been granted to any person to exploit such mines or minerals by virtue of a concession valid at the date of this Constitution.

77. The Council of Ministers, with the approval of the King, or any person authorized by the Council of Ministers, with the approval of the King, may:

(a) Grant the right to mine or draw up a lease for mining or extraction of oil, in so far as it affects the mines or minerals mentioned in Article 76 (b) of this law.

(b) Authorize or lease land vested in him in accordance with Article 76 (a) of this

law, or permit this land to be exploited temporarily under such terms or provisions as he may deem appropriate, subject, however, to the provisions of this law, and provided such authorization, lease, or other disposition be made only in conformity with the law.

78. (a) The Defense Law [which provides] for the granting of authority to the person designated by law to take exceptional measures, including the suspension of the ordinary law of the State, to defend the country shall become effective in the case of the occurrence of emergencies. This law shall become effective only when it is announced by a proclamation issued by the King upon the recommendation of the Council of Ministers.

(b) By a proclamation issued upon the recommendation of the Council of Ministers in the case of the occurrence of dangerous events at a time when it is felt that measures taken in accordance with clause (a) of this article would be inadequate to defend the State, the King may proclaim martial law in all of the Hashimite Kingdom of Transjordan or in any part thereof.

He may issue instructions, as the defense requirements of the State may dictate, to disregard the terms of any law. All persons charged with the execution of such a proclamation shall remain legally responsible for the consequences of their acts before the law of the land unless they are freed from that responsibility by a special law passed for that purpose.

PART VIII REPEALS

79. The Organic Law of 1928, as amended by proclamations, and laws nos. 21 of 1938, 19 of 1939, 15 of 1940, 9 of 1946 is repealed. However, this repeal shall not affect the legality of any law or regulation that has been passed or anything done in conformity therewith prior to the coming into effect of this law, it being considered as having been passed or done in accordance with this Constitution.

14th of Muharram 1366
[July 12, 1946]

Sections of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, February 10, 1947, concerning areas of the Middle East.

PART I TERRITORIAL CLAUSES

Section V — Greece (Special Clause)

Article 14

1. Italy hereby cedes to Greece in full sovereignty the Dodecanese Islands indicated hereafter, namely Stampalia (Astropalia), Rhodes (Rhodos), Calki (Kharki), Scarpanto, Casos (Casso), Piscopis (Tilos), Misiros (Nisyros), Calimnos (Kalymnos), Leros, Patmos, Lipsos (Lipso), Simi (Symi), Cos (Kos) and Castellorizo, as well as the adjacent islets.

2. These islands shall be and shall remain demilitarized.

3. The procedure and the technical conditions governing the transfer of these islands to Greece will be determined by agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom and Greece and arrangements shall be made for the withdrawal of foreign troops not later than 90 days from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

PART II POLITICAL CLAUSES

Section IV — Italian Colonies

Article 23

1. Italy renounces all right and title to the Italian territorial possessions in Africa, i.e. Libya, Eritrea, and Italian Somaliland.

2. Pending their final disposal, the said possessions shall continue under their present administration.

3. The final disposal of these possessions shall be determined jointly by the Governments of the Soviet Union, of the United Kingdom, of the United States of America, and of France within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty, in the manner laid down in the joint declaration of February 10, 1947, issued by the said Governments, which is reproduced in Annex XI.

*Section VII — Ethiopia***Article 33**

Italy recognizes and undertakes to respect the sovereignty and independence of the State of Ethiopia.

Article 34

Italy formally renounces in favour of Ethiopia all property (apart from normal diplomatic or consular premises), rights, interests and advantages of all kinds acquired at any time in Ethiopia by the Italian State, as well as all para-statal property as defined in present Treaty.

Italy also renounces all claims to special interests or influence in Ethiopia.

Article 35

Italy recognizes the legality of all measures which the Government of Ethiopia has taken or may hereafter take in order to annul Italian measures respecting Ethiopia taken after October 3, 1935, and the effects of such measures.

Article 36

Italian nationals in Ethiopia will enjoy the same juridical status as other foreign nationals, but Italy recognises the legality of all measures of the Ethiopian Government annulling or modifying concessions or special rights granted to Italian nationals, provided such measures are taken within a year from the coming into force of the present Treaty.

Article 37

Within eighteen months from the coming into force of the present Treaty, Italy shall restore all works of art, religious objects, archives and objects of historical value belonging to Ethiopia or its nationals and removed from Ethiopia to Italy since October 3, 1935.

Article 38

The date from which the provisions of the present Treaty shall become applicable as regards all measures and acts of any kind whatsoever entailing the responsibility of Italy or of Italian nationals toward Ethiopia, shall be held to be October 3, 1935.

*Section VIII — International Agreements***Article 41**

Italy recognizes the provisions of the Final Act of August 31, 1945, and of the Franco-British Agreement of the same date on the Statute of Tangier, as well as all provisions which may be adopted by the Signatory Powers for carrying out these instruments.

Article 43

Italy hereby renounces any rights and interests she may possess by virtue of Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne signed on July 24, 1923.

[Part VI, Section 1, Article 74 provides for \$25,000,000 reparation for Ethiopia, and lays down conditions of payment.]

ANNEX XI

Joint Declaration by the Governments of the Soviet Union, of the United Kingdom, of the United States of America and of France concerning Italian Territorial Possessions in Africa

(See Article 23)

1. The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, of the United States of America, and of France agree that they will, within one year from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace with Italy bearing the date of February 10, 1947, jointly determine the final disposal of Italy's territorial possessions in Africa, to which, in accordance with Article 23 of the Treaty, Italy renounces all right and title.

2. The final disposal of the territories concerned and the appropriate adjustment of their boundaries shall be made by the Four Powers in the light of the wishes and welfare of the inhabitants and the interests of peace and security, taking into consideration the views of other interested Governments.

3. If with respect to any of these territories the Four Powers are unable to agree upon their disposal within one year from the coming into force of the Treaty of Peace with Italy, the matter shall be referred to the Gen-

eral Assembly of the United Nations for a recommendation, and the Four Powers agree to accept the recommendation and to take appropriate measures for giving effect to it.

4. The Deputies of the Foreign Ministers shall continue the consideration of the question of the disposal of the former Italian Colonies with a view to submitting to the Council of Foreign Ministers their recommendations on this matter. They shall also send out commissions of investigation to any of the former Italian Colonies in order to supply the Deputies with the necessary data on this

question and to ascertain the views of the local population.

ANNEX XIV

Economic and Financial Provisions Relating to Ceded Territories

19. The provisions of this Annex shall not apply to the former Italian colonies. The economic and financial provisions to be applied therein will form part of the arrangements for the final disposal of these territories pursuant to Article 23 of the present Treaty.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

GENERAL

The United States and the Near East, by E. A. Speiser. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947. 263 pages. \$2.50.

Mr. E. A. Speiser presents a thoughtful and enlightening book on the Near East at a time when our attention is turning particularly in that direction. In *The United States and the Near East* he outlines what he believes the United States can and should do in that part of the world which gave rise to our civilization and which today is caught between the intricate and at times conflicting tenets of the present world order.

Mr. Speiser first gives a clear and comprehensive review of the ethnic, religious, cultural, and political developments of the area since ancient times. He then proceeds to more recent events and factors, evaluating their effect on the area as a whole and their impact on the individual states. Having thus supplied the reader with an intelligent understanding of the underlying situation, Mr. Speiser deals with the immediate and compelling problems which now loom on the international horizon.

While dealing with the strategic, political, and economic aspects of these problems among the Great Powers, he never forgets the welfare of the lesser powers whose homelands are involved. He sympathizes with the new consciousness which has awakened in most of the local nations and hopes for statesmanlike leadership to bring the new spirit into national and regional form. He wants fulfilled the hopes and aspirations of the people for improved social and economic conditions. Further, he believes that any Great Power with interests in the Near East should, and in the long run must, reckon with the new will of the peoples of the region for genuine independence and for reasonable se-

curity and prosperity. It must do this out of self-interest if for no other reason, for these native wills are assuming such strength and character that they will affect substantially the future course of the Near East.

Probably the basic problem of the Near East in its relations with the Powers is its location, with vast reserves of oil adding to the complications. The combination of such factors makes the area, as Mr. Speiser aptly states, "a global center of gravity." The chief rub, in his view, is between Great Britain and Russia. They are both vitally interested in the area's communications, resources, and security. As Mr. Speiser describes it, Great Britain is striving to protect those interests already acquired, while Russia seeks to secure for herself the selfsame interests. He adds that this situation is not basically different from that of the nineteenth century; what has changed is the tempo and the size of the stakes.

One might be led to question Mr. Speiser's estimate in this regard, for it is becoming increasingly evident that the basic clash of interests in the Near East, as in the rest of the world, is not between Great Britain and Russia so much as between Russia and the United States. Mr. Speiser himself notes a fundamental shift in the relations of the Great Powers resulting from the decline of French influence, persisting only in the cultural sphere, and the rapid rise of the United States' position. It can hardly be pretended, however, that this substitution has made no change other than in tempo and the size of the stakes in the nature of Great Power relationships in the Near East.

The book traces our earlier associations with that part of the world, when missionaries, archeologists, and educators were beginning their work, paralleled by only a feeble development of trade relations. These American services created large good will. It was

not until World War II that more practical interests evolved, when oil and the strategic importance of the area became of vital concern to the United States Government and to world peace and security.

Mr. Speiser urges a single, comprehensive United States policy toward the Near East as a whole, this policy to be an integral part of the United States' over-all foreign policy. It should be realistic in its relations to the states of the Near East, neither hastening unduly nor retarding unfairly the attainment of independence which, when truly gained, would undoubtedly offer the best solution for regional security. He further emphasizes the need for an independent policy, one that is not subservient to the established policies of any other foreign government but will stand on its own merits.

The author sees the United States in the role of an independent balance between Great Britain and Russia, basing this theory on the assumption that a three-cornered conflict is less likely to develop into war than a two-sided one. The assumption is probably sound, but again arises the question whether there is or can be in reality a three-cornered struggle in the Near East. If the aim of United States policy is to be the prevention of a conflict between two alignments of Great Powers, would not the soundest course be to make every question multi-national by consistent reference to the United Nations? Mr. Speiser himself recognizes the truth of this conclusion in his discussion of what is the most enflamed problem in the Near East, that of the disposition of Palestine. Applying his principles to a particular case, he clearly demonstrates that the problem of Palestine is essentially an international problem and a solution on an international level must be found for it. The same conclusion might well be reached in regard to the other manifold problems of the Near East.

FREDERICK WINANT
South Hamilton, Mass.

Modern Trends in Islam, by H. A. R. Gibb.
Chicago: The University of Chicago Press,
1947. 141 pages. \$2.50.

In this series of lectures, originally delivered at the University of Chicago in

1945, Professor Gibb most wisely begins his exposition of modern Islam by a restatement of "The Foundations of Islamic Thought." There are some whose paramount concern for present-day conditions and trends leads them to remain content with a lack of special knowledge of past events, situations, and attitudes. Systems of thought and methods of action now current in the world are indeed of urgent and vital importance in both the West and East. But in each area, understanding is based on knowledge of historical and cultural backgrounds. In order that Westerners may understand the attitudes and reactions of the East and Orientals understand what is happening in the West, it should be axiomatic that both groups need also knowledge of the previous convictions and customs that the new systems of thought and conduct seek to overcome and supplant. This background Professor Gibb ably provides in his opening discussion.

In his second lecture Professor Gibb describes the tension, among Moslems, between the scholastic conception of Allah as transcendent and remote from humanity, and the mystic idea of Him as intimate with man and concerned about his needs. This tension, inherent in all religion, took specific forms in early Islam; in modern times it has produced movements distinctively Moslem in many Eastern lands.

The principles of Modernism, as expounded by Islam's great reformer, Sheikh Muhammad Abduh, form the subject of Professor Gibb's third chapter. Here he describes the impact of the West, with the resulting demand for education in more than the traditional subjects and for more than a small proportion of the population. Secularism and materialism, and their natural reaction — the defense of traditional Islam — have all made their appearance. But the reform of Moslem doctrine and practice to conform to modern criticism and social principles has varied in expression and result in different Islamic countries.

It is the first three chapters, containing Professor Gibb's insight into and interpretation of Islam's historic principles, that form the book's special contribution. But the last three chapters, devoted to discussions of

modernist religion, law, and society, and to Islam generally in the modern world, also contain important contributions, for the author has used Arabic book and periodical sources not readily available in America, and so provides information about modern trends that will be new and invaluable to all interested in the Moslem East.

Islamic scholars will note that Professor Gibb omits *qiyās*, or "analogical reasoning," from his list of the sources of authority in Islam, but devotes much space to the exposition of *ijtihad*, or "exercise of judgment." The early *mujtahidūn*, or canonists, who formulated the standards of faith and practice for most Moslems, exercised the type of judgment that follows the principle of analogy. Professor Gibb is justified, however, in describing the central activity of judgment rather than its attribute of analogy, for it is *ijtihad* that has had historical importance for Moslems and now has vital value for their future advancement. It is still generally believed in Islam that there should be no modern exercise of judgment in religious matters. To be true Moslems all must accept the traditional interpretations of religious ideas and ideals and also follow the legal prescriptions of conduct of over a thousand years ago.

But as the spirit of modern thinking about religion and personality spreads through the world, it may reasonably be expected that other peoples will follow the example of Turkey in throwing off allegiance to the seventh century view of religious principles and duties, separating religion from government, and making each person's religious thinking purely a personal matter. It is indeed enlightened private judgment, following the canons of historical criticism rather than communal agreement and solidarity enforced by governmental power, which gives promise for progress in Christendom, Islamdom and the one world of righteousness and peace for which so many hope.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY

Hartford Seminary Foundation

The Meeting of East and West: An Inquiry Concerning World Understanding, by F. S.

C. Northrop. New York: Macmillan Co., 1946. 531 pages. \$6.00.

To attempt a philosophical valuation of all the varieties of human culture is an audacious undertaking, and none is more conscious of its audacity than Professor Northrop. But the attempt is justified by the magnitude of the crisis which is upon us; and even though it was, in part at least, foredoomed to fail, his is a splendid failure. No man of our time can make the journey from Mexico to Japan, from Aquinas, Locke, and Marx to Confucius and Gautama, without stumbling by the way, but it is the distinction of this book that it offers to future travellers a compass by which to guide themselves across the frontiers.

Readers will divide themselves into two classes, those who reject outright the foundations of Professor Northrop's inquiry, and those who accept, either implicitly or tentatively, his central thesis. The present reviewer is one of those who are convinced that his starting point is essentially right and timely. Much more than by competing nationalisms and economic interests it is by their differing values — aesthetic, religious, and social — that mankind are divided. To analyze these values, to show how they affect everyday thought and life, to indicate the deficiencies and exaggerations in each system and the consequences of these in practical affairs, to suggest how each might be corrected by synthesis with elements from the other systems — all this is an incalculable service to those who wish to understand what underlies the complexities and perplexities of our modern world.

In the second place, Professor Northrop's conviction that the fundamental division lies between theoretically postulated knowledge and aesthetic intuition is surely true. Yet it is just in the exposition of this antithesis that his book most conspicuously fails. This is not so much because of the complex terminology which he found it necessary to employ as for the reason that to the very end he seems to view the object of the aesthetic intuition from without rather than from within. Perhaps it is not, after all, possible for a modern Anglo-American thinker fully to

enter into the experience of the intuitive seer except in the sphere of visual representation. Professor Northrop's analysis of the artistic expression of the aesthetic intuition, both in the West and in the East, is stirring and profound. But when he passes into the realm of thought, he shows a wholly inadequate understanding of religion and the religious mind, not only in its Eastern manifestations but also in its Western. At times he seems to equate religion with rational sciences like theology and philosophy, at times even to confuse it with social usages and institutions. Such passages as those on pages 412 and 414 which purport to describe the origins and the character of the theistic religions are so shallow as to invite incredulous astonishment, and astonishment is redoubled when one reads on pages 455-457 his prescriptions for reforming the existing religious systems.

The most striking example of this deficiency is offered by his treatment of Islam and the Mohammedan world. Indeed, the omission of any study of Islam as a whole and its relegation to a few superficial and inaccurate paragraphs in the context of India, brings the student of Islamic culture up with a jolt. How has it come about that a philosopher who is so obviously in earnest in his study of world cultures has found nothing significant to say about the spiritual and philosophical foundations of Islam? To some extent Islamic orientalists have themselves to blame, by their failure to furnish non-orientalists with adequate materials for a study of this kind. Yet it is difficult to believe that if Professor Northrop had searched the available sources, he would not have found enough to correct his excessively political interpretation of Islam with its fantastic picture of 80 million Mohammedan Indians "instilled over the centuries with the dictatorial, frenzied, aggressive militant theism of a Mohammed." This refusal to extend to Islam the benefit of that charity and largeness of mind which is accorded to every other system of thought and belief is not only regrettable in itself, however. Within Islam there were made some of the earliest attempts to solve the very problem which he has set before himself, the integration of the positivist religious intuition with a theoretical analysis of

the structure of things. They were not wholly successful attempts, but their bearing on the questions raised in this book is certainly much greater than Professor Northrop has realized.

Yet with all that may be said in criticism, it remains true that he has produced one of the most stimulating and profound books of our time. Even in the cataract of Tracts for the Times by which the ears and minds of men are deafened and stunned, it has already been singled out by a discriminating public as the bearer of a deeply significant message. May it be fruitful not only in opening our eyes to the values we have neglected or misunderstood, but also in encouraging a growing body of thinkers to pursue the ideal which it has set before us.

H. A. R. GIBB
Oxford University

Visages de l'Islam, by Haidar Bammate (Georges Rivoire). Lausanne: Payot, 1946. 587 pages. \$4.75. [New York: W. S. Heinman & Co.]

Reading Mr. Bammate's not unattractive presentation of the story (rather than the history) of the Islamic world makes one realize the melancholy time lag between the actual advancement of our knowledge by the scholarly investigator and the reception of that advancement by the popularizer. Mr. Bammate is widely but not sufficiently read in secondary literature on his subject, and his selection of authorities has not been altogether fortunate. More than a generation ago were we taught that the Mutazilites could not simply be characterized as "free-thinkers"; and no responsible writer ever identified without qualification the *mutakallimun* with the orthodox theologians. The structure and meaning of Arabic poetry, whose beauty the author tries to impress on his readers in the strongest terms (partly transcribed from Viardot's enthusiastic passages of 1833), has hardly been grazed by him. The work done in highly readable form by Huart, Nicholson, Gibb, Lichtenstadter (to name but a few) toward the interpretation of this literature has been entirely overlooked; and the misapprehension of the spirit

of pagan lyrics is as striking as is the arbitrariness with which individual poets have been selected for mention or treatment.

This arbitrariness puts together a colorful picture, but there is no likeness because the vision of the original is lacking. The author has a strong and thoroughly sound feeling for the essential oneness of the Christian and the Islamic civilizations; he is aware of the significance, although not always of the nature, of the Moslem contribution to Western development. But he lacks the insight into the structure of Medieval Islam, and is unable to describe its emotional and intellectual style; nor does he seem to suspect the elements of the heritage which Islamic civilization almost welded into one, the struggle of the submerged cultures to break through the Arab-Moslem surface, or the rivalry of intellectual motivations surviving from various stages of the past of many a nation and many a faith.

The lesson of the greatness of Islam, learned long since by the West, is taught over again by Mr. Bammate through the technique of the defense counsel lining up his character witnesses in court. But Islam no longer needs to have a case made for it. Should it be felt that such a case could still be of use, why not at least draw it up on the basis of the best available evidence which Eastern as well as Western scholarship of the last century has been increasingly active in placing at the disposal of the interpreter?

G. E. VON GRUNEBaum
University of Chicago

Journey to the End of an Era: An Informal Autobiography, by Melvin Hall. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. 426 pages. \$3.75.

About one-third of this personal account, based on the variegated and romantic career of Colonel Hall, is devoted to a several years' sojourn in Iran as a member of the first Millspaugh Mission, which set out in 1923 to attempt a reorganization of Iranian finances. The mission itself is not mentioned, and one finds no hint as to the measure of its success, for Colonel (then Major) Hall apparently conducted his own affairs with

great independence and individuality. He resided at first in Tehran, but later operated in Meshed and southeastern Iran, and finally in the tribal country around Shiraz. Colonel Hall's life and that of his ménage were punctuated by a series of bizarre, dramatic, outlandish experiences which he recounts with verve and imagination, offering the reader a most flavorful mélange of life in Iran as it was lived by a foreign official of the government. The author tells his tales with humor and considerable human insight; he describes his scenes with vividness of color and action. No one who has lived in the Middle East can read his remarks on "some servants" without a sympathetic chuckle, or fail to be stirred to nostalgic memories by his "shades of upland valleys."

Regarding his life in Turkey during the early years of World War II, Colonel Hall is unfortunately very brief. This is to be regretted since his experiences in Istanbul at that time could equal in interest anything he recounts from Iran. Indeed, what might have been the most fascinating story of the book he disposes of in a single sentence: "I was informed that probably none before me had sworn in as a senior officer in the Army while wearing Naval officer's uniform."

HARVEY P. HALL
The Middle East Institute

Constitutions, Electoral Laws, Treaties of States in the Near and Middle East, by Helen Miller Davis. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1947. xix + 446 pages. \$5.00.

This collection fills a real need, for although most of the constitutions and treaties are already available in some collection or other, the same has not been true of the electoral laws. Besides, any student who has had to deal with constitutional or political problems in the Near and Middle East will appreciate having a large number of the important documents brought together in one volume.

Mrs. Davis has divided her book into two sections. In the first one she gives the constitutions and electoral statutes, as well as some of the important bilateral treaties involving

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Afghanistan, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Transjordan, and Turkey. The second part contains several multilateral treaties or excerpts therefrom, such as the text of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Charter of the United Nations, the Arab League Pact, and the Saadabad Pact. Aside from a foreword by Professor Mirkine-Guetzévitch and a brief introduction by the author, the book contains no editorial comment other than a full indication of the source and a minimum of footnotes. Most of the documents are presented in English translation, though several, such as the Egyptian Constitution and electoral law, and the electoral laws of the Levant States, are reproduced in the official or semi-official French versions.

In a book of this type it is unavoidable that the user will find documents which he would not have included had he made the selection, and will miss some which he regards as indispensable. For example, he may question whether it was necessary to include the Charter of the United Nations, which is easily available in numerous official and private editions. Instead, the author might have included some of the treaties concerning the Yemen, such as the important Saudi-Yemeni Treaty of Islamic Friendship and Arab Fraternity of May 20, 1934. The book was apparently finished too early to permit the inclusion of the agreement between the United States and the Yemen, or the new Transjordan Constitution. Somewhat surprising, however, is the author's failure to include the important annexes to the Arab League Pact. Notwithstanding such differences of opinion regarding selections, Mrs. Davis' book will undoubtedly become an important reference tool for the lawyer, political scientist, and historian.

HERBERT J. LIEBESNY
Foundation for Foreign Affairs

Land Law and Custom in the Colonies, by Charles Kingsley Meek. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946. xxvi + 337 pages. \$6.00.

This book by Dr. Meek, a noted authority on British West Africa, seems particularly

timely at a period when land reforms and more economical use of land are being discussed in many parts of the world. As the author himself has pointed out in his preface, the book deals only with the tenure of agricultural lands in selected British colonies. No attempt was made to discuss urban tenure or to cover all the dependent territories of the British Empire. The book is the outgrowth of a series of memoranda which the author wrote between 1941 and 1943 "for the information of a Colonial Office committee on post-war problems." It is prefaced by a long introduction by Lord Hailey, chairman of that committee.

Of the twenty-four chapters into which the book is divided, eight deal with such general subjects as the economic, social, and political importance of systems of holding land; native systems of tenure; freehold and leasehold tenure; land and Mohammedan law. The remaining sixteen chapters are devoted to a discussion of land holdings in selected British colonial areas. Of special interest from the standpoint of the student of the Middle East are the chapters dealing with Moslem law, the land laws of Ceylon, and those of Zanzibar, the last especially because of Zanzibar's former connection with the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman in Arabia. The chapter on Moslem law is devoted primarily to a discussion of the systems of land tenure, mortgages, and inheritance of land as they exist among the Moslems of East and West Africa with occasional references to other Moslem countries. From the viewpoint of Middle Eastern studies this discussion is therefore valuable for purposes of comparison and because it shows the survival of Moslem legal institutions, often in alien surroundings, exposed to the impact of British colonial administration and the pressures of changing social conditions.

The chapter on Cyprus contains a detailed description of its system of land laws, the complexity of which can be gathered from the author's introductory statement which points to the various local rules, Ottoman laws, family laws of the various communities, British statutes, English common law, and rules of equity which the courts must take into account in dealing with problems

of land tenure, inheritance, and mortgage. Included also is a brief discussion of the Moslem law of pre-emption. The chapter on Zanzibar is very short, dealing primarily with conditions as they are today and giving very little of the historical background.

A brief appendix to the book contains "Notes on some recent developments in tenure systems," which, among others, sketch the Jewish Agricultural Settlements in Palestine, the Latifiyah estates of Iraq, the Gezira scheme and the Alternative Livelihood Scheme, both in the Sudan, and the new Baroda Scheme of land tenure. The descriptions are so brief, however, that they hardly do more than draw the reader's attention to these problems.

Considering the author's background and experience it is natural that he is at his best and most original when he deals with West African and especially Nigerian developments. However, even where he had to rely more heavily on secondary sources, as in much of his discussions of Moslem law, his presentation is clear, concise, and scholarly. The book is very well indexed and contains a glossary of English land law terms which will be welcome to the reader not trained in law. To the American reader who is not familiar with the British literature on colonial affairs, a bibliography would have been helpful.

Dr. Meek's book will be of particular interest to anyone who is concerned with land laws and land tenure in areas where differing legal and social systems meet, or where the impact of modern Western civilization upon old established legal and social patterns is making itself felt.

HERBERT J. LIEBESNY
Foundation for Foreign Affairs

PALESTINE

Palestine Mission: A Personal Record, by Richard Crossman. New York: Harper & Bros., 1947. 210 pages. \$2.75.

Behind the Silken Curtain: A Personal Account of Anglo-American Diplomacy in

Palestine and the Middle East, by Bartley C. Crum. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1947. 297 pages. \$3.00.

Two more books are here presented on the Palestine problem — or rather, on the centuries-old Jewish problem in its assumed relationship to Palestine. This time they are accounts of personal experiences told by two members of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry which investigated the situation in the spring of 1946. The fact that one of the authors is an Englishman and the other an American makes their differing points of view of special interest to the reader. Apart, however, from a few behind-the-scenes disclosures and a few striking analyses of Zionism there is not much that is particularly novel or informative in either of these books.

Of the two books, that by the Englishman, Mr. Crossman, is the better balanced and makes the more sincere attempt to grapple with the issues as the author sees them. A former Oxford don trained in Greek philosophy and well traveled in Mediterranean lands, Mr. Crossman has turned politician and is now a leader of the left wing of the Labor Party in Parliament. His keen mind is obsessed with trying to understand the intricacies of the Jewish problem. He is highly critical of American policy in Palestine, and he is more deeply aware than his American colleague of the repercussions of that imbroglio on the Middle East and the entire world.

Granting "that historically — but not legally — the Arab case is indisputable," he nevertheless recommends as a solution the partition of the Holy Land among the Arabs and Jews, largely on humanitarian grounds. At the same time he does not hide his disapproval of Zionists' methods and their consequences. He maintains that it was Hitler's anti-Semitic persecutions which actually created the Jewish "nation." The concept of Jewish nationality then bedeviled the Jews of the world with the dilemma of dual loyalty. "There is a distinction," notes Mr. Crossman, "between the Jewish nation and the Jewish people. The Jewish people belong to many nations, one of which is the Jewish nation in Palestine. Only in the interim

period, while the Jewish nation is being created by immigration, can world Jewry claim proprietary rights in Palestine. Once independence has been achieved, the Jews of other nations must accept the relationship of an emigrant to his homeland."

The establishment of a Jewish state, far from solving the Jewish problem, is more likely, in Crossman's opinion, to increase anti-Semitism in the outside world. Only the small fraction of Jews residing in Palestine can have their neurosis cured; for the vast remainder he believes there is no solution apart from assimilation. Indeed, he fears that since American Jewry, stirred up by Zionism, is already beginning to behave like a national minority, its relatively secure position is being undermined.

Unlike Mr. Crum, Crossman opposes American participation either in the administration or the garrisoning of Palestine. To bring another imperial occidental power into the region would eventually drive the anti-Western Arabs into the arms of Russia. The U. S., he advises, should confine its activities to the "moral support" of British policy and to "financial and technical assistance in the development of the Middle East." He particularly takes President Truman to task for his "lamentable statement" which "picked on the single recommendation [of the Anglo-American Committee], relating to the one hundred thousand immigrants, for enthusiastic approval" and disregarded "the very carefully balanced report" as a whole.

The American writer, Mr. Crum, is a successful corporation lawyer from California who was a Willkie Republican before he supported Roosevelt, and later became an enthusiastic promoter of "causes." Here the cause he advocates is unadulterated Zionism. He makes no pretense to being impartial; indeed, in the opening sentence of his preface he says, "This is in no sense a disinterested book." Since "legal justice," he feels, "lay unquestionably on the side of the Jewish case," he demands satisfaction of practically all the claims of the Zionists, all the way from the revocation of the White Paper and the inalienability of Transjordan, to the granting of Palestinian citizenship to all the Jewish

refugees of Europe even before they go to the Holy Land.

While suspecting the British members of the Committee of a "prejudgment of the case," Crum himself seems to have made up his mind by the time he sailed for Europe. He tended to resent the advice of the accompanying experts, whether of the U. S. State Department or of the British Foreign Office, especially when they suggested that Russia should be taken into consideration in any future plan for Palestine. Later, after inspecting the displaced-persons camps in the Allied zones of occupation, Crum called for the issue of an interim report recommending the immediate sending of 100,000 of their Jewish inmates to Palestine. When his colleagues refused, he threatened to resign.

Despite his shortcomings as an impartial observer, Crum reveals more of the confidential information regarding what he saw and heard than does Crossman. He cites documents which he says point to the duplicity of the American Government in publicly promising the Zionists one thing and secretly repudiating this in private communications to the Arab states. In London, Crum had an enlightening interview with Dmitri Manuisky, the Ukrainian Foreign Minister, who told him that the failure to invite Russia to join the Palestine inquiry "can lead only to delay." Manuisky called Zionists like Dr. Weizmann "unconscious tools of British imperialism."

From the Arab point of view such works as Crossman's and Crum's are but "wind in the desert." They are predicated on the acceptance of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, documents which are regarded by the Arabs as null and void since they were made without their knowledge or consent.

JOHN G. HAZAM
College of the City
of New York

Palestine: Star or Crescent?, by Nevill Barbour. New York: The Odyssey Press, 1947. 293 pages. \$3.00.

Palestine: Star or Crescent is described on the publisher's jacket as "an honest, objec-

tive and considered effort to view the problem [the future of Palestine] as a whole." It is, indeed, an "honest" effort to present the Arab point of view, but it can hardly be considered an objective presentation of a tragic and complex situation.

The author points out what may be regarded as valid criticisms of the Zionists and their methods — their underestimate of Arab nationalism, their persistent misinterpretation of the Balfour Declaration, their fateful disregard of Arab sensibilities, and their failure to realize that a Jewish state can never be built on force, nor a Jewish center in Palestine be sustained except through honorable compromise and co-operative effort among all the parties concerned. All of these Zionist shortcomings are presented in Mr. Barbour's book, but he is not content with pointing out obvious things. In the very early pages and throughout the entire book, a considered bias is manifest. Choice of facts, emphases, and phrase usage indicate an approach to the problem which is even more than special pleading. His attempt, for example, to draw a parallel between Roman times and today is pure surmise, and his description of the pathetic revolt of the Jews against Rome is a distortion of history. His apologia for Pobiedonostov is matched only by his treatment of the Mufti, whom he describes as a martyr to British appeasement of the Zionists who "found his way to Germany . . . [and] indulged in radio propaganda against Britain."

Mr. Barbour attempts to show that the reason for the issuance of the Balfour Declaration was humanitarian, not political, and that the exigencies of the war had nothing to do with Britain's decision to make the Declaration. He quotes Lord Curzon's estimate of British policy as the readiness to secure for the Jews "equal civil and religious rights with the other elements in the population," and to "arrange as far as possible for land purchase and settlement of returning Jews," but he seems to have disregarded Curzon's statement made at the same time that the Declaration was "recommended by considerations of the highest expediency" and was "urgently demanded" as a move against the political designs of the Germans.

His grudging admission that the presence

of Zionists has helped the Arabs shows the same partiality as his discussion of Hebrew education. Surely, having lived in Palestine, he is familiar with the fact that Zionist taxes paid in part for the system of Arab education. He takes particular care to interpret the "state of mind of the Arab population," but pays scant attention to the state of mind of the Zionists. He dismisses the important contribution of Palestinian Jews to the war effort with these words: "Recruitment, as far as the Mandatory Government was concerned, was on a voluntary basis and about 23,000 Jews and 9,000 Arabs joined up in various branches of the service. The percentage of rejections, however, of Arab volunteers on medical grounds was apparently much higher than in the case of Jewish volunteers."

In the closing pages, Mr. Barbour discusses various possibilities for the future. He personally favors the formation of a Palestinian state with autonomy for both Arab and Jew. The reviewer believes also that this, not partition, is the long-range solution. But in his discussion of this formula, Mr. Barbour leaves out the subjects of Jewish immigration and Jewish nationalism. The Palestine problem cannot be solved by ignoring these main factors; one may wish they were not in the picture, but they are there and must be given due consideration. Thus, while Mr. Barbour has contributed an excellent treatise from the Arab point of view, his book will not be a great help to those who seek a just and practical way out of the tragic Palestine dilemma.

A fine sense of moral nicety must have prompted author and publisher to give the American edition of the book a title different from that under which it appeared in England: *Nisi Dominus*.

MORRIS S. LAZARON
Baltimore, Maryland

IRAN

Persia and the Powers: An Account of Diplomatic Relations, 1941-1946, by A. H. Hamzavi. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1946. 125 pages. 7s. 6d.

This thin book by the Press Attaché of the Persian Embassy in London consists of 54 pages of text and 60 pages of appendix. In content as well as in volume the more important portion of the book is the latter, for here is reprinted a number of the documents regulating the relations between Iran and the Great Powers, including the text of the Treaty of Friendship of February 26, 1921, between Persia and the Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic, the Treaty of Alliance of January 29, 1942, between the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and Iran, and the principal statements submitted in the appeal of the Iranian Government to the Security Council of the United Nations in 1946.

The text offers a running account of the diplomatic events following the occupation of Iran by Soviet and British troops in 1941 down to the failure of the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops by March 2, 1946, in accordance with the treaty of January 29, 1942. The account leaves the story unfinished at its crucial point and it is necessary to consult other sources for the facts concerning the resolution of this question.

The text is so laden with diplomatic amenities as to lose all forthrightness and to cast doubts on its candor. Thus, in the chapter entitled "Contributions to the Allied Cause," appears the statement, "From early 1942 when the machinery of Persia's collaboration with the Allied Powers started functioning an unprecedented era of co-partnership between Persia and her powerful Allies existed." This was hardly the case. It would be nearer the truth to say that the contributions of Iran to the Allied cause—chiefly oil and transport—were not voluntary but exactions of the occupying powers in which the Iranian Government was constrained to acquiesce. Between the Soviet Government and its allies there was no collaboration worthy of the name; as regards Iran, the Soviet Government administered as provinces the Iranian territories it occupied, and treated the Iranian Government with contempt.

ELGIN GROSECLOSE
Washington, D. C.

INDIA

Caste in India: Its Nature, Function, and Origins, by J. H. Hutton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946. New York: Macmillan Co. 279 pages. \$3.75.

Professor Hutton's works on the tribes of northeastern India, written in the course of his years of administrative duties in that area, have long been esteemed by anthropologists. Now Professor of Social Anthropology at Cambridge, Hutton says in the foreword to the present volume that it attempts "... to offer a brief conspectus of the various aspects of caste, since, when trying to give my classes a general idea of the problems involved, I was unable to find any single book of moderate size to which I could send students for what I regarded as a satisfactory outline of the subject." This scholarly, compact volume does indeed fulfill the author's intent, bringing together the scattered and diffuse materials on the subject and presenting them in systematic fashion.

The book propounds the view that historically the caste system has provided the peoples of India with a stable form of social organization which has given the peninsula the unity demanded by its geographic isolation from the rest of the world, and has at the same time allowed for the variety which ensued from the diverse origins of India's inhabitants. This social system has absorbed all intrusive societies and has so far withstood all attempts to revolutionize it.

In sketching the cultural characteristics of the land, the author has had to rely heavily on the dictionary-like compilations of the "tribes and castes" of the major areas. It is to the author's credit that he has been able to bring some coherence out of these bits of ethnographic data.

The most useful section is that dealing with the structure, strictures, sanctions, and functions of the caste system itself. A notably complete presentation of the essentials of the system is given in brief compass. Some of these essentials are frequently overlooked. Thus Hutton notes that secular authority has normally been the arbiter in caste disputes; and that political, social, and religious sanctions all enter into the functioning of

castes. The documentation of the mobility of individual castes within the hierarchy will correct the general impression concerning the absolute rigidity of the system.

Nowadays, as the author indicates, a caste may have a *sabha*, a sort of lobbying association with a central headquarters and branch offices devoted to furthering the interests of the caste. But of such modern developments, of the present importance of caste in rural and urban India, of contemporary caste groups as going concerns, this book has relatively little to say. It thus reflects the deficiency of sources; there is a much richer and scientifically more satisfactory literature on the remote hill tribes of Assam (thanks to the work of Hutton and his colleagues) than there is on the villages and towns which make up the bulk of the population.

In offering the principal theories on the origin or origins of the caste system, the author points out that each rides a particular hobby, whether race, or ritual, or belief in reincarnation, as the sole explanation; all of them, however, remain largely speculative. Hutton wisely contents himself with listing the factors which may have entered into the crystallization of the caste structure without attempting a single, final explanation.

The professional anthropologist will boggle at some of the author's statements, as that on page 9, where he asserts that "... the upper class Telugu approximates to the Greek or Italian in physical type." Which Italian — Sicilian or Milanese? He will also find it difficult to accept the account of the peopling of India based largely on the contemporary distribution of physical types, and the usage of such unproven groupings as that of the "Austic" languages. But these professional points of dispute should not obscure the very real service which Professor Hutton has rendered in providing all those interested in India with a handy little book that gives the facts of caste.

Two long appendices, one on the position of the exterior castes and the other on Hinduism in its relation to primitive religions in India, previously appeared in the author's report on the 1931 census of India.

DAVID G. MANDELBAUM
University of California

Divided India, by Robert Aura Smith. New York: Whittlesey House, 1947. 253 pages. \$3.00.

In *Divided India*, Mr. Smith, who during the early part of World War II was director of the OWI in India, offers an excellent presentation of the factual background of the Indian political situation as of October 15, 1946. There are no omissions of consequence, and the apportionment of space to the individual aspects of this highly diversified situation seems to have been worked out in a very painstaking manner. The author shows high ability in the art of condensing his material in such a way as to include only the most pertinent matters; moreover, the analytical content of the book reveals the work of a profound, scholarly mind.

It is, therefore, all the more unfortunate that Mr. Smith has chosen to limit the usefulness of this fine piece of work by writing as if his main objective was to prove the complete correctness of every British governmental act performed in India during recent years. His treatment of conflicts within the Indian community is objective, except possibly for a few sentences which might be interpreted as betraying some irritation over Gandhi's allegedly obstructive tactics. In addition to this, he is careful to explain the probable motives which led each Indian faction to behave as it did in its contacts and conflicts both with the British rulers and with other Indian factions. But in all cases where the conflict was between an Indian group and the British authorities, Mr. Smith's opinion seems to be that the Indian viewpoint, however understandable it may have been, was invariably wrong. The British never erred, either in judgment or in intentions, except in instances where some short-sighted Indian attitude forced them into a choice between two evils.

This is, of course, very different from the traditional popular viewpoint on the matter in the United States. To the extent that public opinion in this country has erred in the opposite direction, *Divided India* may have a desirable neutralizing effect, particularly since Mr. Smith's pro-British arguments are in most cases introduced by good

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summaries of the contrary standpoints. The net effect of the book, therefore, may be quite salutary from the point of view of propaganda on the intellectual plane.

Actually, the merits of the case as between British and Indians are by no means as one-sided as Mr. Smith would have us believe. Perhaps the most pointed instance of his disinclination to admit the validity of any anti-British position is his citation and defense of an official pronouncement made by Leopold Amery, former Secretary of State for India, without mentioning that Amery was the man most hated in India at the time. Possibly Mr. Smith, though aware of this fact, did not consider it important. Great hatreds, however, should not be left unexplained if the victims of the hatreds are occupants of key positions in crucial eras. Again, Mr. Smith's statement that Indians seem to prefer political action even in cases where they could easily achieve the same results by court action, is somewhat shallow. Legal action is expensive and most Indians are poor.

The author of *Divided India* is perhaps unduly optimistic when he says, with regard to the British officials who are entrusted with the handling of Indian affairs, that "The ideas of 'imperialism,' for its own sake, and of 'retentionism' as a political program have simply ceased to exist among the persons who are actually involved in the business of government." It is this reviewer's impression that old-fashioned imperialism is still something of an issue in British home politics, and that imperialistic viewpoints have been expressed in quite recent Parliamentary debates by persons who may, later on, be actively handling Indian matters.

Nevertheless, for the student who wishes a "refresher" course in Indian politics, as well as for the general reader who wishes to acquire some knowledge of the background of the present Indian situation, *Divided India* should serve a useful purpose provided that the author's pro-British bias is borne in mind.

HEDLEY V. COOKE
Vanderbilt University

NORTH AFRICA

Our Vichy Gamble, by William L. Langer. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. ix + 412 pages. \$3.75.

An informed and judicious appraisal of United States foreign policy as it was shaped so recently as five years ago is in itself an achievement of considerable consequence. When it centers around Washington's relations with Vichy France, a subject still filled with highly contentious and explosive elements, and even then maintains a calm objectivity, the achievement is the more remarkable. But when, above all else, it reaches the well-considered conclusion that the State Department followed a wise and prudent course, the effect is little short of sensational. There is a lesson here which might well be learned: that the State Department, so frequently buffeted by storms of current ideological passion, should have little cause to fear searching investigation of its recent activities by competent scholars when the contemporary national interest would not thereby be prejudiced.

The sources which Professor Langer was able to use were such as are seldom available to the student of contemporary affairs. The files of the OSS, of which the author was a prominent member, were placed at his disposal; Secretary Hull, stung by bitter press attacks upon his policy and for that reason the prime instigator of the study, made available an abundance of pertinent State Department materials and solicited others from the War Department; Admiral Leahy supplied papers from his own files; the principal agents of national policy, such as Colonel William Eddy, Robert Murphy, Wallace Murray, Henry S. Villard, and Ambassador Bullitt were consulted personally; and, of course, Professor Langer also had at hand the accumulating mountains of French and captured German documents bearing upon the Vichy-North Africa problem. With all of this, it may modestly be suggested that the subject has not been exhausted. More "revelations" may be anticipated in time to come, especially from those in the State Department who shared the public apprehension of our dealings with Vichy. These may at least

have the virtue of illuminating some of the obscurities which still remain.

Professor Langer describes in detail the development of American policy in respect to North Africa, "the crux of our entire relationship with Vichy France." *Our Vichy Gamble* is therefore of more than incidental importance to the student of Middle East affairs. Despite differences with the British, the stout opposition of the Economic Adviser in the State Department, the obstructions of the Board of Economic Warfare and the Treasury Department, the Murphy-Weygand Economic Accord was concluded during February and March 1941 and the policy of modest economic aid to the French in North Africa was haltingly implemented. The essential objective was to prevent this strategically important area from falling under total German domination.

Speaking of the Economic Accord, the author says that "as an economic policy it had never amounted to much. . . . None the less, it was the entering wedge for our North African policy and proved itself handsomely as a device for getting intelligence. Not only that, it gave us an opportunity far beyond anyone's dreams for establishing contacts with dissident groups in North Africa and thereby preparing the ground for the invasion that was to come in November 1942." Elsewhere he says quite categorically that "our whole North Africa policy must be described as an unqualified success." The fact remains, nevertheless, that General Weygand, on whom we had first counted so heavily, proved entirely loyal to Pétain; that Giraud, with whom our agents conducted weighty negotiations in the best dime-thriller fashion, proved unacceptable to the French military in North Africa at the crucial moment; and that, in the final analysis, we had to deal with Darlan, who had not been brought into our calculations until he appeared "providentially" (as Professor Langer says) upon the scene. In these respects, at least, our Vichy policy failed to produce the expected results. There are therefore those with intimate knowledge of dealings with Vichy who feel they cannot share Professor Langer's conclusions. They could perform a useful service to knowledge by providing

us with their own accounts. The reviewer would like especially to see Dr. Herbert Feis write a sequel to his *Seen From E. A.*

C. GROVE HAINES
School of Advanced
International Studies

Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord, by Pierre Jalabert. Paris: Société Privée d'Imprimerie et d'Éditions, 1945. 239 pages. Fr. 90.

Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord is a short, sketchy account of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia from the dawn of history to the present time. Its author has a wide variety of interests. He has written and published seven poems, three of which won the grand prize of the *Académie des Jeux Floraux de Toulouse*; four one-act and two three-act plays; four histories dealing with the Provence and Languedoc; and one book of travel containing impressions gained in Italy. He now writes as a French patriot for French patriots.

The first 125 pages of this book describe the country, the people, the customs, and the history of French North Africa from the pre-Phoenician Berbers to 1830. Upon a necessarily incomplete background, the author projects the several phases of foreign conquest, viz., the Phoenician, the Roman, the Christian, the Vandal, the Arab, and the Turkish. The next seventy-two pages treat of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.

The history of Algeria is traced to the death of General Bugeaud in 1849; the remainder of the period to 1900 is covered in a page and a half. Some emphasis is placed on military conquest in the direction of In-Salah and points farther south in the Sahara Desert, with also a reference to the Flatters expedition which set out to survey the territory south of Algeria for the building of a trans-Saharan railroad.

The seven pages treating of Tunisia emphasize the occupation and the subsequent spread of French civilization. There is a reference to the well-known Khroumir incident of April 4, 1881, but no effort is made to clear up the circumstance which eventually led to the signing of the Treaty of Bardo. The Italian problem is referred to as

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well as the French policy of sending one hundred French families per year to Tunisia to counteract Italian influence in the country. The Tunisian nationalist movement, known as *Destour*, is viewed as decadent.

The section dealing with Morocco covers the period from the Middle Ages to the recall of General Lyautey. There is some mention of Germany's ambitions in Morocco and its withdrawal after 1911. The Abd al-Karim affair is referred to, but a discussion of either Spanish Morocco or Tangier is lacking. In view of this fact, the title of the book should have been limited to French possessions in North Africa. The personality and work of General Lyautey is treated dramatically. The author follows with a brief account of the work of Cardinal Lavigerie and Father de Foucauld. The former organized the Order of White Fathers, who, with their long beards, engaged in the conversion and "civilization" of the native Africans, especially in the vicinity of ancient Carthage. The latter, an ex-soldier, settled among the Beni Ounif at Figuig and later at In-Salah in the Algerian Sahara. He labored among the Tuaregs for the purpose of establishing peace among the desert tribes and between those tribes and the French. His tragic death in 1916 at the hands of the *Fellaga's* is eloquently described.

In a chapter on the role of North Africa after June 1940, the author discusses the work of de Gaulle and its relation to the conquest of Libya from the south by French troops.

Concerning the future of "Africa," Jalabert states that the French are doing what neither the Romans, the Vandals, the Arabs, nor the Turks were able to do. They are uniting under one flag countries totally dissimilar; they are extending Europe to Africa; they are connecting the Sudan with Senegal, Dahomey with the Mediterranean. In short, they are extending *la paix française*.

As a short, popular account of French North Africa, Jalabert's *Histoire* is readable and in spots impassioned. It does not purport to add new material to our knowledge of the region.

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TURKESTAN

Mission to Tashkent, by Lt. Col. F. M. Bailey.
London: Jonathan Cape, 1946. 312 pages.
15s.

Colonel Bailey, whose account of his exploration of the upper Brahmaputra appeared in 1945,¹ now unfolds a new chapter in his life in the outposts of Asia. *Mission to Tashkent* is the story of his sojourn in Turkestan immediately after the Communist Revolution of 1917.

In April 1918, when Colonel Bailey set off from India on his mission, the Russian Revolution had not only brought about the collapse of the eastern European front, but had resulted in the disintegration of the Russian army fighting the Turks in north-western Iran and of the troops stationed in Khorasan to prevent the infiltration of German and Turkish missions into neutral Afghanistan. In southern Iran, the Qashqai tribes, encouraged by Wassmuss and other Germans, were preparing for the revolt which broke out the following month. In Afghanistan, although the German agents Niedermayer and von Hentig had been unsuccessful in deflecting the Amir Habibullah Khan from his position of neutrality, the Amir's brother, Nasrullah Khan, led a strong pro-Turkish faction supported by the Moslem priests. Indian nationalists, aided by Germans, were attempting to use Afghanistan and Turkestan as bases for organizing a revolution in India.

The release by the Bolsheviks of over a hundred thousand Austrian and German prisoners of war in Russian Turkestan created a potential source of danger to the British in all the troubled regions of the Middle East. As Colonel Bailey writes: "The position in Russian Turkestan was obscure. We knew that Bolsheviks were in control but no one knew what a Bolshevik was or what were his aims and objects." The Colonel was therefore instructed to go to Tashkent "to find out what sort of people they were and to try to persuade them to continue the war against Germany, or at least not to help the Central Powers in the war against us" (page 26).

¹ F. M. Bailey, *China-Tibet-Assam* (London, 1945)

Taking the arduous Gilgit route over the Pamirs from Srinagar to Kashgar, the Colonel proceeded to Tashkent, where he arrived on August 14, 1918. He presented himself openly as an emissary of the British Government. His position was made difficult, however, by the events which had occurred during his long overland journey. In his first interview with the Bolshevik Foreign Commissar he was told that British troops from Meshed, supporting the Menshevik government of Trans-Caspia, had clashed with Bolshevik troops near Ashkhabad. Only much later did he learn of the Dunsterville mission to Baku and of the British-equipped fleet operating in the Caspian against the Bolshevik navy.

Colonel Bailey quickly adjusted himself to a regime of room-searching, shadowing, and *agents provocateurs*. By October he had organized his own system of information and assistance among White Russians, anti-Bolshevik natives, and opportunist members of the local Bolshevik government so well that when Moscow telegraphed orders for his arrest he was apprised of the message two days before it filtered through bureaucratic channels to the officers charged with arresting him.

The main part of the book deals with his experiences in hiding first in Tashkent, then on a bee farm in the mountains of Ferghana, and later again in Tashkent, passing as one or another of the several Austrian prisoners of war whose passports he was able to borrow. Having finally decided, in the autumn of 1919, that nothing was to be gained by his continued presence in Turkestan — the British-supported government at Ashkhabad had fallen and the Bolsheviks were consolidating their position all through the area — Colonel Bailey succeeded in getting himself sent to the still neutral Bokhara as a Bolshevik counterespionage agent. From here he was able to slip through Bolshevik patrols to the Iranian border, arriving in Meshed in January 1921.

The book starts out slowly. Of the difficult journey over the Pamirs in early May, Colonel Bailey writes little because, as he modestly states, "it has often been described and photographs will give a better idea than

long descriptions." He does, however, give information on birds which should be of interest to ornithologists, and in an appendix he lists the butterflies collected on this first part of the journey. The section devoted to his early "official" stay in Tashkent, in which he tries to relate the situation there to events in other parts of Russia, is slow and not always clear. With his escape from arrest, however, the account gains pace, and his simple, restrained style is highly effective in describing adventures of an order usually encountered only in fiction.

Although Colonel Bailey was, by nature of his position, anti-Bolshevik, and by necessity associated chiefly with anti-Bolshevik elements in the population, his reporting is not distorted by emotional bias. For the most part he writes only of his own experiences and observations; when on occasion he repeats a story at second hand, it is carefully labeled as such. Thus *Mission to Tashkent* not only makes good reading, but offers one of the few reliable firsthand reports available of the confused early revolutionary period in Turkestan.

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BOOKS ALSO NOTED

General

Bibliographie de l'Arménie, by A. Salmasian. Paris: L'Auteur, 1946. 195 pages.

The Comprehensive Economic Directory of the Middle East: Middle East Directory, 1946-1947. Tel Aviv: The Economic Office for the Middle East in Palestine, 1947. 648 pages. \$10. A commercial guide to the names and addresses of the most important business firms and institutions in Palestine, Transjordan, Egypt, Cyprus, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Turkey.

Elias' Modern Dictionary: English-Arabic, by Elias A. Elias. Cairo: Elias' Modern Press, 1946. 806 pages. A fifth edition, entirely recast and enlarged.

L'Empire du Levant: Histoire de la Question d'Orient, by René Grousset. Paris: Payot, 1946. 648 pages.

La Femme Musulmane dans le Droit, la Religion et les Moeurs, by Octave Peale. Rabat: Les Editions la Porte, 1946. 262 pages.

A Foreign Policy for the United States, ed. by Quincy Wright. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947. 405 pages. \$4.50. Lectures and discussions of the Twenty-second Institute under the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation at the University of Chicago, July 15-19, 1946. Contains a chapter on the Near East by John A. Wilson, followed by discussion. (To be reviewed.)

Grammatica di Persiano Moderno, by Ettore Rossi. Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1947. 132 pages. L. 350. A grammar for beginners, containing exercises, vocabularies, and notes on Persian meter.

L'Orient Romanesque en France, 1704-1789, by Marie-Louise Dufrenoy. Montreal: Editions Beauchemin, 1946. 380 pages. \$3.00. A critical study tracing the history of the Oriental fad in French fiction from the appearance of the first French translation of the *Thousand and One Nights* in 1704 until the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789.

Arab States

Annuaire Medical Egyptien, 1947, by Max Fischer. Cairo: Egyptian Directory (Box 500), 1946. 246 pages. £E 1.

Cultural Survey of Modern Egypt, pt. 1, by M. M. Mosharrafa. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1947. 52 pages. 2s. 6d.

Earth and Water Temperatures in Egypt, by L. J. Sutton. Cairo: Ministry of Public Works, 1946. 91 pages. (Physical Dept. Paper No. 52.)

One Hour of Justice: The Black Book of the Egyptian Hospitals and a Fellaheen Charter, by Arthur Cecil Alport. London: Dorothy Crisp and Co. 1947. 311 pages. 8s. 6d. (To be reviewed.)

Sudan Geography, by R. A. Hodgkin. Khartoum: Education Dept. of the Sudan Govt., 1946. 160 pages, maps, diags. Prepared for the secondary schools of the Sudan.

India

Acres and People: The Eternal Problem of China and India, by Earley Vernon Wilcox. New

York: Orange Judd Publishing Co., 1947. 297 pages. \$3.00. The author discusses the problems of the farmers in China and India, on the assumption that "until we understand the conditions which they must meet . . . in order to live at all, we shall be in no position to pose as teacher of a better way of life for these peoples."

Annual Review of Economic Conditions in the Punjab, 1945-1946, ed. by Daya Krishan Malhotra. Lahore: Civil and Military Gazette, 1946. 64 pages. Re. 1.

The Economic Development of India, by Vera Anstey. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1946. 581 pages. £1. 8s. Discusses India's economic developments and problems; concludes that basic social reforms are a necessity for future economic progress. (To be reviewed.)

Foreign Trade of India, 1900-1940: A Statistical Analysis, by Hiranyappa Venkatasubbiah. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs (London: Oxford University Press), 1946. 83 pages, tables, diagrams. Rs. 3/8.

Fundamental Rights: A Constitutional and Juridical Study with Particular Reference to India in the Light of the Experience of the United States of America and the United Kingdom, by M. Ramaswamy. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1946. 252 pages.

Good-bye India, by Sir Henry Sharp. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. 244 pages. \$3.75. A description of the life lived in India by the Englishmen who worked there, by a former Secretary to the Government of India.

Indian Route March, by Louis Hagen. New York: Pilot Press, 1947. 192 pages. \$2.50. A series of descriptive episodes as experienced by the author during his wartime service in India.

I've Shed My Tears: A Candid View of Resurgent India, by D. F. Karaka. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1947. 280 pages. \$3.00. A young Indian journalist educated at Oxford writes his autobiography with emphasis on the growth of political consciousness as he saw it in India. An interesting comparison of the characteristics of Indian and Western ways of thinking.

Modern Islam in India: A Social Analysis, by Wilfred Cantwell Smith. London: V. Gollancz, 1946. 344 pages. 15s. (To be reviewed.)

My Impression of India, by Reginald W. Sorensen. London: Meridian Books, 1947. 224 pages. 10s. 6d.

Primary Education in India: Its Future, by Anathnath Basu. Calcutta: Indian Associated Publishing Co., 1946. 64 pages. Re. 1/8/. A study written by the Head of the Teachers' Training Department at Calcutta University, giving a brief survey of the present position of primary education in India and plans for the future.

Reconstruction of India's Foreign Trade, by B. N. Ganguli. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1946. 252 pages. 12s. 6d.

Report of the Economist for Enquiry into Rural Indebtedness 1946, by B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu. Madras: The Superintendent, Government Press, 1946. 110 pages.

Sketches of India, by Joan Valerie Bondurant. Ann Arbor, Mich.: The Craft Press, 1946. 104 pages.

State Management and Control of Railways in India, by L. A. Natesan. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946. xxiii + 495 pages. Rs. 12.

Iran

Pictures From Persia, by Cecil Keeling. London: Robert Hale, 1947. 128 pages. 15s.

North Africa

Algérie et Sahara, sous la direction d'Eugène Guernier. Paris: Encyclopédie de l'Empire français, 1946. 2 vols. 376 photographs, 52 maps.

La Berbérie Musulmane et l'Orient au Moyen Age, by Georges Marçais. Paris: Aubier, Editions Montaigne, 1946. 310 pages. (Les Grandes Crises de l'Histoire, collection dirigée par J. Calmette.)

Charles de Foucauld, le Saint du Sahara, by Charles Pichon. Paris: Les Editions de la nouvelle France, 1946. 222 pages.

Desert Hawk: Abd el Kader and the French Conquest of Algeria, by Wilfrid Blunt. London: Methuen and Co., 1947. 292 pages. 16s.

La France en Afrique du Nord, by Georges Surdon. Alger: Edition Alger republicain, 1946. 887 pages.

Palestine

Arab-Jewish Unity: Testimony Before the Ihud (Union) Association, by Judah L. Magnes and Martin Buber. London: V. Gollancz, 1947. 96 pages. 5s.

Outlines of a Development Plan for Jewish Palestine, by Ludwig Gruenbaum. Jerusalem: Economic Research Institute of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 1946. 171 pages. 600 mils. (To be reviewed.)

Palestine: Land of Broken Promise, by O. S. Edwards. London: Dorothy Crisp and Co., 1946. 111 pages. 6s. 6d. A sketchy "study of documents supporting the Palestinian case . . ." contributing little new on the subject.

A Palestine Picture Book, by Jakob Rosner. New York: Schocken Books, 1947. 141 pages, 126 plates. \$5.00. Pictures portraying Jewish accomplishments in town and country in Palestine.

Promised Land, by Ellen Thorbecke. New York: Harper and Bros., 1947. 171 pages, 172 photographs and illust. \$3.50. An account of Jewish achievement in Palestine.

Turkey

Turkey: Old and New, by Selma Ekrem. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947. 186 pages. \$2.75. (To be reviewed.)

Die Zusammenarbeit der Renaissance Päpste mit den Türken, by Hans Pfeffermann. Winterthur, Switzerland: Mondial verlag ag., 1946. 256 pages.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer, Near East Section, Library of Congress

With contributions from: Nabia Abbott, Elizabeth Bacon, G. L. Della Vida, John Dorosh, Elisabeth Ettinghausen, Richard Ettinghausen, Carl Ginsburg, Sidney Glazer, Harold W. Glidden, Harvey P. Hall, Cecil Hobbs, Herbert J. Liebesny, George C. Miles, Leon Nemoy, William I. Preston, C. Rabin, and Benjamin Schwartz.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East roughly since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of excellent bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Moslem Spain, the Arab world, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of Soviet Russia, Iran, Afghanistan, Turkestan, and India. The ancient Near East, Byzantium, Zionism and Palestine¹ are excluded; in the case of India, only material dealing with history and the social sciences since 1600 will normally be considered.² An attempt will be made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields, with the exception of those published in the languages of India.

¹ Palestine, Zionism, the Jews of Palestine, etc. are omitted only because of the existence of a current, cumulative bibliography devoted to this field, i.e. *Zionism and Palestine*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library in New York.

² Art and archaeology, language and literature, etc. are well covered by the following: Kern Institute. *Annual bibliography of Indian archaeology* (Leiden); George M. Moraes. *Bibliography of Indological studies 1942-*, (Bombay), Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences.

For list of abbreviations, see page 368.

GEOGRAPHY

(General, description, travel and exploration, natural history, geology)

- 497 "Delhi — old and new." *Science and Culture* (Calcutta) 12 (Ja '47) 1-12. An up-to-date description of Delhi.
- 498 AWAD, GALAL EL-DIN HAFEZ. "On the occurrence of marine triassic (muschelkalk) deposits in Sinai." *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 397-427. First notice of the occurrence of marine triassic deposits in Egypt.
- 499 CARVER, JAMES E. "Rock of Aden." *Contemp. Rev.* (London) 975 (Mr '47) 170-3.

Some interesting and unfamiliar facts, the most unusual being that Aden is built inside a volcano crater, hence its terrific heat.

- 500 CASE, PAUL EDWARD. "I became a Bakh-tiari." *Natl. Geographic Mag.* 91 (Mr '47) 325-58. The author was given a wartime assignment to meet the chief of the Bakh-tiari, a practically ungoverned tribe of central Iran, in order to obtain co-operation for construction works in their territory. Sixteen pages of kodachrome pictures by Maynard Owen Williams enhance this interesting article.
- 501 CHOUBERT, G. "Aperçu de la géologie Marocaine." *Rev. de Géographie Marocaine* (Rabat) 2/3 (1946) 59-77. An attempt to

summarize present knowledge of the geological structure of Morocco in the form of an "essai d'interprétation architecturale basée sur l'analyse des grande phases de l'évolution du Maroc."

- 502 GENDRE, F. "Voyageurs et géographes. I, II." *Rev. de Géographie Marocaine* (Rabat) 1; 2-3 (1946) 11-23; 82-98. Describes the work, now forgotten or unrecognized, of the French explorers and geographers of Morocco just before the establishment of the protectorate.
- 503 HARRISON, J. V. "South-west Persia: a survey of Pish-i-kuh in Luristan." *Geog. J.* (London) 108 (Jl-S '46) 55-70. Detailed account of a journey through the mountain barriers between Iran and Iraq. Illust. Map of Luristan is attached to the inside of the back cover of the Journal.
- 504 İNAN, AFET. "A historical field trip between Ankara and Samsun." (in Turkish). *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (Ja-F '47) 119-132. Report on a trip taken by associates of the University of Ankara in 1946. Route of travel, sites viewed, discussion of problems. Illust.
- 505 JOLY, F. "Notes de géographie sur le Siroua occidental et sa bordure." *Rev. de Géographie Marocaine* (Rabat) 1 (1946) 3-7. These notes are the commentary to a map on which the author summarized the observations made on a trip between Taliouine and Asni, through Siroua, the country of the Ait-Azilal, Tifnout and the central massive of the High Atlas.
- 506 McCUNE, SHANNON. "The land of Ceylon." *J. of Geography* (Chicago) 46 (Mr '47) 83-91. A sketch of the geology, climate, and soils of Ceylon.
- 507 MURZAEV, É. M. "Geography in the republics of the Transcaucasus." (in Russian). *Izvest. Vsesoiuznogo Geograficheskogo Obshestva* (Leningrad) 78 (1946) 441-43. Lists all the geographical institutes in the Transcaucasus with a brief survey of their work in that region.
- 508 PETER of GREECE, H.R.H. PRINCE. "A trip to the Oxus." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ja '47) 51-55. Account of the first automobile trip ever made between Mazari Sherif and the Oxus River in Afghanistan. Map.
- 509 SANIR, FERRUH. "The Geographical Institute's training field trip for the academic year 1945-6." (in Turkish). *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (Ja-F '47) 117-18. A report on an academic expedition.
- 510 SHUKRI, N. M., and SAID, R. "Contribution to the geology of the Nubian sandstone. Part II: mineral analysis." *Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 229-64. A detailed analysis based on samples taken from numerous localities in Egypt and Sinai.

HISTORY AND POLITICS

(Ancient, medieval, modern)

- 511 "The empire and the Middle East." *Round Table* (London) 146 (Mr '47) 103-111. Considers British policy in the Middle East with particular reference to Empire security. A long section on Palestine concludes with the exhortation that both the Dominions and England should insist that the United Nations deal with the problem.
- 512 "India's deadlock unbroken." *Round Table* (London) 146 (Mr '47) 167-74. A review of recent events, of which the only hopeful feature is the fact "that neither of the major parties . . . has yet relinquished its gains by abandoning the Interim Government, thus leaving the other in possession of the country's administrative machinery."
- 513 "Letter from Under Secretary Clayton to Representative Celler." *Dept. of State Bull.* 16 (F 2, '47) 208. Sent in response to inquiries from the Congressman regarding commercial relations between the U.S. and India, with particular regard to the need for a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation between the two countries. The letter was released to the press Jan. 20, 1947.
- 514 "Turchia — effetti della guerra civile greca." *Politica Estera* (Rome) 3 (D 29, '46) 1569-70. The dangerous international situation is reflected in the internal political situation where all the elements for a social revolution exist.
- 515 AKIN, HIMMET. "An investigation on the history of the Aydın Oğullar." (in Turkish). *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (Ja-F '47) 91-102. A study of the nature and history of the Aydın principate. Abstract of Doctoral Dissertation. With English version, pp. 103-108.
- 516 APPADORAI, A. "The task before the Constituent Assembly." *India Quart.* (Delhi) 3 (Mr '47) 10-19. Recommendations to the Constituent Assembly of the Interim Government for an Indian Bill of Rights.
- 517 ARCHER, JOHN. "India is like this." *Amer. Scientist* (New Haven) 35 (Ap '47) 224-38. Touches skimpily on a number of problems and conflicts. Illust.
- 518 ATIYAH, E. "The Arab League." *World Affairs* 1 (Ja '47) 34-47. An examination of its international significance by the Secretary of the Arab Office in London.
- 519 ATKINS, H. J. B. "The French North African background. I. Islam." *African Affairs* (London) 46 (Ja '47) 21-29. An elementary description of the religious basis of Islam.
- 520 AL-'AZZĀWĪ, 'ABBĀS. "Ibn Abi 'Udhayba and his history." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-*

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- Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi* (Damascus) 21 (Jl-Ag '46) 306-316. A very accurate biography of the author of *Ta'rikh Duwal al-A'yân* and *al-Ta'rikh al-Kabir* (born Jerusalem, 819/1416, died 856/1452) with a list of his writings, a description of the MSS. still extant, and a study of his sources.
- 521 AL-'AZZAWI, 'ABBAS. "The family of Begtegin. Muza'ffar al-Din Kökbüri. II, III." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi* (Damascus) 21/22 (N-D '46/Ja-F '47) 515-29/55-64. The history of Irbil from 522 to 630 A.H. under the rule of that Kurd dynasty, and the reign of its last and most famous sovereign.
- 522 BARANNIKOV, A. P. "The cultural relations between Russia and India." (in Russian). *Izvest. Akad. Nauk SSSR Otdel. lit. i yaz.* (Moscow) 5 (1946) 461-65. A brief history of the growth of interest on the part of Russian philologists and men of letters in the languages and literatures of India from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present.
- 523 BARTHOLD, W. W. "The Marwani sect in Islam." (in Turkish). *Bellelen* (Ankara) 10 (Ap '46) 369-74. Translation by Abdülkadir Inan of Barthold's article on the Mervani (Marwani) sect, first published in *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences*, 1915, pp. 643-48.
- 524 BHATTACHARYA, K. K. "India's new Rashtrapati: Acharya Kripalani." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 80 (N '46) 364-65. An appreciation of the new president of the Indian National Congress.
- 525 BARTON, WILLIAM. "Hindu and Afghan on the Indian frontier." *Contemp. Rev.* (London) 974 (F '47) 77-80. Predicts that a Moslem-Hindu clash after British withdrawal would rally a million fighting Afghans on the side of their co-religionists. Claims that the Moslems would be glad to stay in the Commonwealth as a separate state or dominion.
- 526 BUSHEVICH, V. "India's struggle for independence." (in Russian). *Mirovoye khoz-yaystvo i mirovaya politika* (Moscow) 9 (1946) 39-52. Traces India's post-World War II mass movement "against feudalism, English imperialism and for the democratization of the government." Analyzes the Hindu-Moslem problem in its politico-religious ramifications, and defines the role played by the National Congress and the Moslem League in the fight for independence.
- 527 BUTLER, S. S. "The problem of the Sudan." *World Rev.* (London) (Mr '47) 18-24. A severe attack against Egypt's claim and fitness to rule the Sudan. The Sudanese, only comparatively recently emerged from barbarism, are incapable as yet of self-government. The present rulers, therefore, must stay.
- 528 AL-CHALABI, DAWUD. "The town Saray." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi* (Damascus) 21 (Jl-Ag '46) 376-78. This town on the Volga River, founded by Bātū, the khan of the Golden Horde, and visited by Ibn Battūta in the fourteenth century, should not be identified with Astrakhan.
- 529 CUNNINGHAM, GEORGE. "Tribes of the North-West Frontier of India." *World Rev.* (London) (F '47) 23-29. "It is sad, but true, that the tribes of Waziristan, as well as many of our big tribes in other parts of the frontier, would rather remain undeveloped and free than be developed and administered." The author was governor of the province from 1937 to 1946 and he has written a pleasant and informative article.
- 530 DYAKOV, A. "The events in India." *New Times* (Moscow) 24 (D 15, '46) 13-16. Believes the British to be insincere in their promise to withdraw from India by July 1948 and insists that only full independence can guarantee the settlement of her internal antagonisms.
- 531 EDWARDS, A. C. "Persia revisited." *Internat. Affairs* (London) 23 (Ja '47) 52-60. The visitor found weakness and bewilderment, new and potent forces of disorder and disruption. He was cheered only by the skillful maneuvering of Qavam es-Saltaneh.
- 532 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. "Italy and the Bedouin in Cyrenaica." *African Affairs* (London) 45 (Ja '46) 12-21. An extremely interesting though harsh account of Italian policy toward the Bedouins after the subjugation of the latter in 1932.
- 533 FEDDEN, ROBIN. "Notes on the British Consulate in Egypt in the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries: 1580-1775." *Bull. de l'Institut d'Egypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 1-21. A well-documented article containing references to Franco-British consular relations in Egypt and relations with the Egyptian Government. Contains a complete list of British consuls in Egypt.
- 534 FISCHER, A. J. "Turks and Arabs." *Contemp. Rev.* (London) 975 (Mr '47) 155-59. This observer sees in President İnönü's speech of Nov. 1, 1946 one of many bits of evidence pointing to the consummation of not a love match between the Arabs and Turks but a "fairly stable marriage de convenience."
- 535 FRYE, RICHARD N. and SAYILI, AYDIN. "The Turks in the Middle East before the Seljuks." (in Turkish). *Bellelen* (Ankara) 10 (Ja '46) 97-131. A brief study, based on historical sources, of the Turkish populations of Khorasan and Transoxiana previous to the rise of the Seljuks.

- 536 H. G. H. "The British withdrawal from India." *The World Today* (London) 3 (Mr '47) 120-24. The only thing that can prevent chaos and disorder when Britain leaves is an agreement between the Congress and the Moslem League. In no case will there be an adequate safeguarding of the interests of the minorities.
- 537 HOSKINS, HALFORD L. "Background of the British position in Arabia." *Middle East J.* 1 (Ap '47) 137-47. Recounts Mohamed Ali's attempt to bring Arabia under his control, and the British moves to counter the attempt which lead in turn to the annexation of Aden and the establishment of treaty relations with the coastal sheikhdoms.
- 538 HOURANI, CECIL A. "The Arab League in perspective." *Middle East J.* 1 (Ap. '47) 125-36. Evaluates the Arab League in terms of the trend toward Arab unity dating back to the nineteenth century. Considers the League a victory for moderate nationalism among the Arabs.
- 539 HOWARD, HARRY N. "Some recent developments in the problem of the Turkish Straits, 1945-1946." *Dept. of State Bull.* 16 (Ja 26, '47) 143-51. Summarizes the notes exchanged in 1945 and 1946, with an analysis of the position of the powers primarily concerned.
- 540 JAMES, L. "The future of French North Africa." *Contemp. Rev.* (London) 974 (F '47) 93-97. Even if North Africa should be granted its independence and economic aid by the French, it seems that the goal of the Moslems of a "union within the Arab League will probably prove more attractive than a federal place within the French Union."
- 541 KAZARA, DR. OSMAN NURI. "Georgia and Turkey: the historical background." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ja '47) 69-78. Giving the historical background, from earliest times, of the present Soviet-Turkish controversy over "the three sanjaks." Map and bibliography.
- 542 KREMKOW, SÄLIM (Fritz). "Continuation of the *Mir'at al-Zamān*." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 21 (Jl-Ag '46) 378-80. The great historical work by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī is continued, for the years 671-686 A.H., in a later work, a volume of which is in the India Office; its author, not mentioned in the MS., is Qutb al-Dīn al-Yūnīnī (died 721 A.H.). Other volumes (for different years) are in Oxford and Istanbul.
- 543 KUCHKIN, A. "The Sovietization of the Kazakh village, 1926-1929." (in Russian). *Voprosy ist.* (Moscow) 10 (1946) 3-23. An account of the transition of Kazakhstan from what the author calls a semi-patriarchal and semi-feudal system to a collectivist order without going through "the painful stage of capitalism."
- 544 LONGRIGG, STEPHEN H. "The future of Eritrea." *African Affairs* (London) 45 (Jl '46) 120-27. Favors its total political dissolution: part joining the Sudan, part going to Ethiopia at once, and part going to it by stages.
- 545 MACMICHAEL, HAROLD. "The problem of the Sudan." *African Affairs* (London) (Ap '47) 15. "The Sudanese people must be free to choose their own destiny," says the author, who was at one time Civil Secretary to the Sudan Government.
- 546 AL-MAGHRABI, 'ABD AL-QĀDIR. "Al-Malik al-Zāhir Baybars." (end). (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 21 (Jl-Ag '46) 329-37. A biography of the great Mamluk sultan, the conqueror of the last possessions of the Crusaders in Syria [continuation of no. 44].
- 547 MEHERALLY, YUSUF. "Landmarks in India's struggle for freedom." *India Speaks* (Calcutta) 1 (My '46) 61-64. Hits the high spots from the "1857 Mutiny" to Subhas Chandra Bose and his I.N.A., as raw material for the formation of a national myth.
- 548 MUKHARJI, BIJAY BEHARI. "Communal representation in the services etc. in Bengal." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 80 (N '46) 366-74. Charges the British with pro-Moslem, anti-Hindu population policies in Bengal over a long period of time, producing the present situation of a Moslem majority in this province.
- 549 MONTAGNE, ROBERT. "Evolution in Algeria." *Internat. Affairs* (London) 23 (Ja '47) 42-51. An excellent review of the problem by a highly competent scholar who cites many factors conducive of optimism.
- 550 MORGAN, EDWARD P. "Dithers at the Dardanelles." *Collier's* 119 (My 10, '47) 21. National security of Turkey is still precarious, thus necessitating an army proportionately more than twice the size of the U.S. Army at its war-time peak.
- 551 MEHTA, ASOKA. "Evolution of Indian nationalism." *India Speaks* (Calcutta) 1 (My '46) 74-77. The blending of various elements during the last century form the hard core of Indian nationalism today.
- 552 MOTTER, THOMAS VAIL. "The Massawa legend." *Infantry J.* 60 (My '47) 81-3. Traces and exposes the "legend" that has grown up regarding Capt. Edward Ellsberg's salvage operations at Massawa in 1942, reviewing the various articles published on the subject, but with particular reference to Ellsberg's own book, *Under the Red Sea Sun*. Effectively demonstrates that while Ellsberg's operations were important, they have received attention out of all proportion to their value.
- 553 OSMAN, YAKOUB. "The case for Sudanese independence." *African World* (London)

- (D '46) 14-15. States the position of the Umma Party which believes in "Sudan for the Sudanese."
- 554 ÖZ, TAHSİN. "The archives of Sinan Pasha, conqueror of the Yemen, in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum." (in Turkish). *Belleten* (Ankara) 10 (Ja '46) 171-93. An annotated list of 250 documents now located in the Topkapı Sarayı Museum in Istanbul, the earliest of which dates from 767 A.H. (1365 A.D.), the latest from 1327 A.H. (1909 A.D.). The majority of the documents are in Turkish, the others in Arabic.
- 555 PAL, DHARM. "The Bhootan war." *Calcutta Rev.* 101 (D '46) 235-49. Events leading up to and including the British conquest of Bhutan, 1864-1865.
- 556 PETRUSHEVSKY, I. "A newly discovered Persian document on the history of the Mongolian invasion." (in Russian). *Voprosy ist.* (Moscow) 11-12 (1946) 121-26. A review of the *Nafhat al-Maṣḍūr*, attributed to Muḥammad Zaidarī or, more recently, to Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Nasawī, author of the "Sīrat al-Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn Mankobīrti." The *Nafhat al-Maṣḍūr* is primarily an eyewitness account of the Mongolian invasion of upper Mesopotamia, southern Armenia, and southern Azerbaijan in the thirteenth century.
- 557 PERLMANN, M. "Palestine's neighbors: Iraq — 1946." *Pal. Affairs* (New York) 2 (Mr '47) 30-2. A brief review of Iraq's domestic and foreign problems.
- 558 RAHMAN, SHAH M. H. "Political, social and economic setup in Turkey." *J. of the Indian Inst. of Internat. Affairs* (New Delhi) 2 (O '46) 37-43. A brief but excellent description of the Turkish revolution effected by Kamal Atatürk.
- 559 RATCLIFFE, S. K. "India — end and beginning." *Contemp. Rev.* (London) 976 (Ap '47) 202-207. Proclamation of a definite date for withdrawal as a means of shocking party leaders into co-operative action has failed. The Moslem League has been strengthened by the statement that transfer of power will be made either to one government or several. The author envisions a measureless tragedy in what has been called "the greatest disengagement action in history."
- 560 ROMAINVILLE, FRANÇOIS DE. "Les musulmans en U.R.S.S. et la politique islamique." *Cahiers du monde nouveau* (Paris) 3 (F '47) 15-21. A brief but good analysis of the position of the Moslem states in the Soviet Union and the possibilities for and against their becoming a springboard for Soviet expansion in the Near and Middle East. This article serves as an introduction to the author's forthcoming book *L'Islam et l'U.R.S.S.*
- 561 SANNYASI, SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL, and SUNDARAM, LANKA. "India's case against South Africa." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 80 (N '46) 376-86. Gives a detailed and documented account of South Africa's actions prejudicial to its Indian inhabitants.
- 562 SARKAR, HEMANTA K. "A plea for separation of West Bengal." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (F '47) 146-49. On the basis of the Moslem League ministry government of Bengal to date, the writer urges separation of western Bengal with its predominantly Hindu population from any future Pakistan.
- 563 SCHNEER, RICHARD. "Famine in Bengal, 1943." *Science and Soc.* (New York) 11 (spring '47) 168-79. Seeks to prove, and with apparent success, that this famine, as in the case of all others in the past, was due to extreme administrative incompetence.
- 564 SILLERY, A. "Libyan aspirations." *African Affairs* (London) 46 (Ja '47) 13-21. Discusses the seven proposals that have been put forward from time to time in regard to Libya's future. Makes a useful distinction between the aims of the Cyrenaicans and the Tripolitarians.
- 565 TALAS, MUHAMMAD AS'AD. "Ḍarb al-Hūṭa 'alā Jamī' al-Ghūṭa, by Ibn Ṭūlūn. III." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 21 (Jl-Ag '46) 338-41. Final installment of a new edition of the description of the Damascus district by the well-known 10th/16th century author Ibn Ṭūlūn. It contains a copious annotation and a list of place names omitted by Ibn Ṭūlūn.
- 566 TANSEL, SALAHADDIN. "Concerning Ottoman-Prussian relations in the time of Frederick the Great." (in Turkish). *Belleten* (Ankara) 10/11 (Ja/Ap '46) 133-65/271-92. Extensive use is made of the archives of the Turkish Prime Ministry.
- 567 TELLER, J. L. "Behind Palestine's Arab 'armies'." *Commentary* (New York) 3 (Mr '47) 243-49. A brief history of Futuwah and Najjadah with a description of some of their present and potential leaders. The author concludes that unless the British or member states of the Arab League (which is unlikely) intervene, Haganah would be able to undertake a successful defense against any organized Arab forces.
- 568 TURAN, OSMAN. "Seljuq caravanserais." (in Turkish). *Belleten* (Ankara) 10 (Jl '46) 471-96. A valuable general introduction to Anatolian Seljuq caravanserais of the thirteenth century, with particular reference to their importance in the economic and social life of the time.
- 569 UZUNÇARŞILI, İSMAİL HAKKI. "Murad V's attempted flight to Europe." (in Turkish). *Belleten* (Ankara) 10 (Ja '46) 195-209. Documents relating to the attempt to effect the escape of Sultan Murad V from Çırağan Palace.

- 570 UZUNÇARŞILI, İSMAIL HAKKI. "Report and letters relating to the medical treatment and death of Sultan Murad V." (in Turkish). *Belleten* (Ankara) 10 (Ap '46) 317-67.
- 571 UZUNÇARŞILI, İSMAIL HAKKI. "The removal of the Sherif of Mecca, Abdülmuttalib, by means of a fabricated order of Osman Nuri Pasha, Governor of the Hijaz." (in Turkish). *Belleten* (Ankara) 10 (Jl '46) 497-537. A documented report.
- 572 VATOLIN, L. "On the question of Anglo-Egyptian relations." (in Russian). *Mirovoye khozyaistvo i mirovaya politika* (Moscow) 21 (Je '46) 67-77. Brief sketch of Egypt's struggle for complete sovereignty in the face of desperate attempts by England to strengthen her position in the Near East generally and in Egypt particularly. The strategic value of Sudan and the Suez Canal to England is especially emphasized.
- 573 VYAZEMSKY, F. "A visit to Istanbul, travel notes." *New Times* (Moscow) 8 (F 21, '47) 21-24. The traveler was depressed by what he saw: the poverty and cheerlessness of the people, the influence of the merchant class, the steady stream of misinformation emanating from the newspapers, and the presence of British and American soldiers.
- 574 ZHUKOV, YE. "The great October socialist revolution and the colonial east." (in Russian). *Bolshevik* (Moscow) 20 (O '46) 38-47. A defense of Soviet foreign policy in the Orient as based on anti-imperialism and as a natural concomitant of the national aspirations of the peoples in that part of the world, coupled with a denunciation of the foreign policy of the U.S. as one founded on "dollar diplomacy" and of that of Great Britain as rooted in "imperialistic economism."
- 575 WRIGHT, WALTER LIVINGSTON, Jr. "Contradictory foreign policies in the Near East." *Virginia Quart. Rev.* (Charlottesville) 23 (spring '47) 179-92. U.S. policy toward Palestine to date has run counter to American national interest.
- the large engineering contracts of the British, with special reference to pharmaceutical products.
- 578 "The change in Turkey." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (Ja '47) ME 49-50. Description of the financial situation in Turkey after the lira depreciated prior to Turkey's entrance into the Bretton Woods agreement.
- 579 "The great oil deals." *Fortune* 35 (My '47) 138-43. A valuable history of the major concessions in the Near East, with particular reference to the international aspects. Maps and illustrations.
- 580 "Inland navigation in India." *Indian Engineering* (Calcutta) 121 (F '47) 67-9. A closely written statistical account of Indian inland navigation from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the present.
- 581 "Saudi Arabia approves railroad project by U.S. firm." *Dept. of State Bull.* 16 (Mr 16, '47) 506. The Saudi Arabian Legation informed the State Department that a report of an American engineering firm stated that a proposed railroad from Riyadh to Dammam is economically justifiable and feasible.
- 582 BARRACLOUGH, L. J. "The Indian coal mining industry." *Calcutta Rev.* 100 (Jl '46) 1-7. Deals almost exclusively with mining problems affecting management, output, and labor. Describes the qualifications of various sections of management.
- 583 BEE, JOHN M. "Iraq's chief economic problems." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (Mr '47) ME 49-50. Concerned with the development of communications and irrigation.
- 584 BHABHA, C. H. "Damodar Valley scheme." *Indian and East. Engineer* (Calcutta) 99 (Ja '47) 67-70. Brief, almost caption-like description of the history of the Damodar Valley project, and its results to date.
- 585 BONNÉ, A. "Irrigated agriculture in the Middle East." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (Ja '47) ME 44-5. Discussion of farming in Egypt, Iraq, Turkey, and adjacent countries by means of artificial irrigation.
- 586 CHATERJEA, S. C. "The Damodar Valley project." *India Quart.* (Calcutta) 3 (Mr '47) 19-31. A thoroughgoing, detailed account, illustrated with a map, of India's TVA project.
- 587 DE, A. C. "Indian railways a century ago." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (F '47) 126-29. A brief, but well-annotated account of events leading up to the decision to construct a railway in India.
- 588 EVANS, P. and CROMPTON, W. "Geological factors in the interpretation of Indian gravity data, I." *Science and Culture* (Calcutta) 12 (Ja '47) 307-15. A geophysical and geological study undertaken for the exploration and exploitation of various types of mineral deposits. This is the first interpretation of the field reports.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(General, finance, commerce, agriculture, natural resources, labor, transportation and communications)

- 576 "Anglo-Egyptian economic co-operation." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (Ja '47) ME 51-2. Statement at annual dinner of Anglo-Egyptian Chamber of Commerce concerning trade agreements.
- 577 "Britain's success in Turkish market." *Gt. Brit. and East* 63 (F '47) ME 45-6. Relates

- 589 FARRĀJ, 'IZZ AL-DĪN. "Horticultural problems in Egypt." (in Arabic). *Al-Mujtama' al-Jadid* (Cairo) 4 (Ap '47) 39-42. Irrigation during the blooming and fruiting season; Smyrna fig; pomegranate worm; almonds, walnuts, and pecans; citrus gum disease.
- 590 GANDHI, M. P. "Problem of short-staple cotton in India." *Indian Merchants' Chamber J.* (Bombay) 40 (Ja '47) 11-17. A statistical presentation of Indian cotton production in the decade 1935-1945. Suggestions for improvement of grade.
- 591 GILL, A. S. "Industrial protection in the post-war period." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (F '47) 105-7. Urges a tariff policy that will protect Indian industry, without preventing the necessary imports.
- 592 GURVICH, R. "Famine in India and the Indian peasantry." (in Russian). *Mirovoye khozyaistvo i mirovaya politika* (Moscow) 7-8 (1946) 86-94. Denies the contention that the recurring famines in India are due to overpopulation. Rather the author ascribes them to the deliberate British policy of discouraging the industrialization of India, to the exploitation of the peasants at the hands of the large landowners, to overburdening taxation, and to the present weakness of a genuine peasant movement.
- 593 HAGGAG, ALY TEWFIK. "Organization of the agricultural credit." (in Arabic). *L'Egypte Contemporaine* (Cairo) 234/5 (Mr/D '46) 247-338. A detailed study of its role in supporting production and protecting agriculture, with a survey of its history in Italy, Rumania, France, Germany, England, the United States, and Denmark. Bibliography of works in French and Arabic.
- 594 HASAN, K. SARWAR. "Indian interests in the Pacific." *J. of Indian Inst. Internat. Affairs* (New Delhi) 2 (O '46) 9-21. India's stake in the Pacific is cultural, colonial, and economic. The defeat of Japan and her elimination from the scene gives India the opportunity to increase her stake.
- 595 JADHAV, G. M. "Preparedness; a national necessity." *Calcutta Rev.* 100 (Jl '46) 37-45. Appraises favorably a prize-winning essay of this title by Col. E. C. V. Foucar. Urges compulsory military service and a strong military establishment as an essential requisite in a new, free India.
- 596 JONES, J. H. "My visit to the Persian oil-fields." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ja '47) 56-68. Report by a trade unionist M.P. sent by the British Government to investigate conditions in the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company at Abadan in June 1946.
- 597 JUNGFLEISCH, MARCEL. "La résurrection de la Mer Morte." *Bull. de l'Institut d'Egypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 81-7. A discussion of the meteorological effects and agronomic benefits of the realization of Kitcheners' plan for a canal from Haifa to the Jordan Valley.
- 598 JUNGFLEISCH, MARCEL. "L'utilisation des sources égyptiennes d'énergie." *Bull. de l'Institut d'Egypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 143-50. A study of the possibilities for the exploitation of petroleum and water power, the only two natural sources of energy existing in Egypt.
- 599 KASLIWAL, MANMALL. "Working of the Indore cotton mills." *Indian Textile J.* (Bombay) 57 (N '46) 130-34. A review of the chief causes for the decline in production of the Indore cotton mills, with suggestions for improvement.
- 600 KULKARNI, P. D. "Textile trade unionism in Bombay." *Indian J. Social Work* (Bombay) 7 (D '46) 224-38. A very good article on Indian trade unionism in general, and the origin and development of the Bombay textile trade unions in particular.
- 601 LORENZO, A. M. "Organization of our agricultural workers." *Indian J. Social Work* (Bombay) 7 (D '46) 204-13. A history of the Kisan movements; a recommendation for the inclusion of a Rural Labor Department in the government.
- 602 AL-MAHRŪQI, AHMAD. "Melon culture in Egypt." (in Arabic). *Al-Mujtama' al-Jadid* (Cairo) 4 (Ap '47) 58-62. A brief but informative article on the areas in Egypt in which melons are grown, times and methods of planting, and the varieties grown.
- 603 MAQSUD. "Forest resources of Iran." *Foreign Affairs* (Delhi) 5 (Ap '46) 152. About one-eighth of Iran is covered by forests which are neither properly conserved nor exploited. But now some attempts at conservation and development are being made.
- 604 MATTHAI, JOHN. "India's railway budget for 1947-1948." *Indian Railway Gazette* (Calcutta) 60 (Mr '47) 59-77. Full text of the speech of Dr. John Matthai, Minister of Transport and Railways in the Interim Government, on Feb. 17, 1947, on presentation of the railway budget to the Central Assembly.
- 605 MEHTA, GAGANVIHARI L. "India and America — an economic survey." *India Speaks* (Calcutta) 1 (My '46) 55-8. Plumps for a draft treaty between the U.S. and India, with special emphasis on fiscal, commercial, and navigation agreements, and rights of Indians in the U.S.
- 606 MIKESELL, RAYMOND F. "Monetary problems of Saudi Arabia." *Middle East J.* 1 (Ap '47) 169-79. Points out that monetary practices still prevalent in Saudi Arabia are inadequate in view of the rapidly developing economic relations with the outside world. Offers suggestions for modernization.
- 607 MORGAN, EDWARD P. and SALISBURY, HARRISON E. "Oil troubles Iran's waters." *Collier's* 119 (Ap 5, '47) 21 ff. Account of the

- Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's agreement to furnish Iranian oil to American firms.
- 608 MUDALIAR, V. M. APPADHORAI. "Rearing silkworms in southern and eastern India." *Indian Textile J.* (Bombay) 57 (N '46) 153-57. Detailed and illustrated instructions for the rearing of hybrid types of silkworms.
- 609 MUKHERJEE, KARUNAMOY. "Bengal famine of 1943 and problems of relief operations." *Calcutta Rev.* 100 (Jl '46) 17-23. Statistics of over-all relief operations for the 1943 famine indicate that the help given was "too little and too late."
- 610 MUKHOPADHYAY, SUDHENDU NARAYAN. "Labour unrest in tea plantations." *Indian J. Social Work* (Bombay) 7 (D '46) 186-96. A documented history of labor unrest in the Assamese tea plantations since 1920; an extreme case of employers' exploitation of an illiterate and timid group of workers.
- 611 PRAKASA RAO, V.L.S., and CHAKRAVARTI, P. C. "Port-planning in India." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (F '47) 123-26. Discusses Indian ports on the basis of the following classification: defective roadsteads; natural harbors, effective ports, effective roadsteads, and ports or harbors without productive hinterlands.
- 612 RAO, R. V. "If the textile industry is to prosper." *Indian Textile J.* (Bombay) 57 (N '46) 118-24. Attacks the report of M. K. Vellodi, Deputy High Commissioner and claims that the chief necessities are mechanical replacements and a clear division of controls between the central and provincial governments.
- 613 RAO, R. V. "On a new economic policy for India — Gandhian view examined." *Calcutta Rev.* 100 (Jl '46) 8-16. On the significant role of cottage industries in Indian economic life.
- 614 RAY, PARIMAL KUMAR. "Food planning for Bengal: I." *Calcutta Rev.* 101 (D '46) 215-24. Statistical presentation of food items and quantities for which the government must plan in order to avoid famines in Bengal.
- 615 EL-SAID, MOHAMED HOSNY. "Seasonality of the Egyptian export trade." *L'Egypte Contemporaine* (Cairo) 234/5 (My/D '46) 227-31. Shows some of the features and consequences of this seasonality which is a result of the country's highly specialized structure of production.
- 616 SAXENA, P. C. "On the abolition of zemin-dari." *Indian Rev.* (Madras) 48 (F '47) 65-68. Landlordism is an obsolete and extremely expensive method of tax collection. It should be abolished and the landlords compensated with government bonds.
- 617 SHARMA, KRISHNA KUMAR. "Fixing the par value of the rupee." *Indian Rev.* (Madras) 48 (F '47) 60-62. Advocates fixing the par value of the rupee, under the International Monetary Fund of the Bretton Woods Agreement, at one shilling sixpence.
- 618 SULZBERGER, C. L. "Our strangest ally." *Saturday Evening Post* 219 (My 10, '47) 24-5 ff. Relates the development of Arabia's oil resources by the recently organized Arabian American Oil Company and an intimate account of King Ibn Saud.
- 619 TATA, J. R. D. "Message of the chairman to the employees of Tisco at Jamshedpur." *Tisco Rev.* (Bombay) 14 (S '46) 202-7. The chairman of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Ltd. announces the settlement reached with the Tata Workers' Union.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

(General, education, population and ethnology, medicine and public health, religion, law)

- 620 "Al-Kuwayt." (in Arabic) *Al-Mujtama' al-Jadid* (Cairo) 4 (Ap '47) 35-37. A short description of present-day Kuwait, of value chiefly for its account of the educational system.
- 621 "Weighing the Aga Khan in diamonds." *Natl. Geographic Mag.* 91 (Mr '47) 317-24. Eight pages of color photographs, with brief annotations of this ceremony.
- 622 ABDEL-RAHMAN, AHMAD GAD. "The Egyptian national life tables No. 2." *L'Egypte Contemporaine* (Cairo) 234/5 (My/D '46) 207-226. An important contribution to the vital statistics of Egypt. The National Life Tables No. 1 were constructed by Dr. M. El-Shanawany in 1935 and were based on the censuses of 1917 and 1927.
- 623 ANGUS, H. F. "East Indians in Canada." *Internat. J.* (Toronto) 2 (winter '46-'47) 47-50. Examines the bases of discrimination against some 1700 persons in British Columbia who have a considerable international importance.
- 624 AVIERINO, CH. D. "De l'épidémie du typhus exanthématique en Egypte pendant l'année 1943." *Bull. de l'Institut d'Egypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 23-76. A detailed account of this epidemic which the author believes to have been of local origin. An exhaustive bibliography of 263 titles on typhus is appended.
- 625 BAGCHI, P. C. "Castes of Indian mystics." *Vishva-Bharati Quart.* (Calcutta) 12 n.s. (O '46) 138-43. The authority of Indian literature from the earliest to the latest periods is cited to prove that in caste-ridden India, her mystics — the *aranyaka*, the *yogi*,

- the *yogin*, and the *sanyasin* — are casteless, or rather, beyond caste.
- 626 BARTON, WILLIAM P. "Caste in India." *Fortnightly* (London) 962 n.s. (F '47) 146-47. A review of J. H. Hutton's *Caste in India*. After reading this book, Sir William began to doubt that India, with its caste system in full vigor, could really be safe for democracy.
- 627 BISHOP, ERIC F. F. "Some relationships of Samaritanism with Judaism, Islam, and Christianity." *Moslem World* 37 (Ap '47) 111-133. A summary of current knowledge of the subject.
- 628 CHAKRAVARTY, AMIYA. "The international mind." *India Speaks* (Calcutta) 1 (My '46) 106-113. An appraisal of the educational work fostered by Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan.
- 629 CHAUDHURANI, INDIRA DEBI. "Now and then." *India Speaks* (Calcutta) 1 (My '46) 99-105. Improvement of woman's lot in contemporary India.
- 630 DAS, TARAKNATH and WATUMULL G. J. "An open letter to Indian educators." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 80 (N '46) 348-50. Deplores the practice of annually sending 500 students abroad officially, and many others unofficially, especially in view of the over-crowding in universities of both the U. S. and the U. K., and urges educators to develop educational resources within India.
- 631 DATTA-MAJUMDER, N. "Anthropology during the War: VI. India." *Amer. Anthropologist* 49 (Ja-Mr '47) 159-64. Brief communication on the progress of anthropological research in India during the war years, together with notes on the publication of anthropological journals and monographs in India during that period.
- 632 DAYAL, SWAMI BHAWANI. "Satyagrah in South Africa." *Hindustan Rev.* (Patna) 80 (S '46) 174-78. An indictment of Gen. Smuts and his government for their treatment of Indians in South Africa.
- 633 DROWER, LADY. "Marsh people of south Iraq." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ja '47) 83-90. A sympathetic picture of the Marsh people by an author who has studied them for many years.
- 634 D'SOUZA, J. M. "Some problems of education expansion and reconstruction." *Teaching* (Madras) 19 (Mr '47) 74-77. Schools and compulsory education by themselves will not educate India into a modern social order. India's leaders must have a clearly defined "social philosophy in action" if India is to take its rightful position among the nations of the world.
- 635 GRANSDEN, A. H. "Chaldean communities in Kurdistan." *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ja '47) 79-82. On the people of the Chaldean Uniate Church of Iraq, an offshoot of the Assyrian Nestorians. Map.
- 636 IDGUNJI, MANOHAR. "Progress of social insurance in India." *Social Service Quart.* (Bombay) 33 (Ja '47) 49-55. A brief review of social insurance legislation in India, with the conclusion that the surface of this type of social welfare has barely been scratched.
- 637 JUNG BAHADUR, NAWAB ZAIN YAR. "A national university in India." *Indian Art and Letters* (London) 20 n.s. (1946) 22-26. A description of Osmania University and its buildings at Hyderabad.
- 638 KAPUR, MONOHARLAL. "Presidential address: 34th conference of the All-India Medical Licentiate's Assn." *Indian Medical J.* (Madras) 40 (D '46) 276-85. The medical situation in India, with stress laid on medical training and licensing of doctors and the need for and role of the doctor in rural areas.
- 639 KIELL, NORMAN. "Indian journalism." *Tomorrow* (New York) 6 (Ap '47) 13-19. An amusing description of the highly personalized press of India and the make-up of a typical paper.
- 640 KONDAPI, C. "Indians overseas; a survey of developments in 1946." *India Quart.* (Delhi) 3 (Mr '47) 54-65. The position of Indians in South Africa, East Africa, Ceylon, Burma, Indo-China, Mauritius, the British West Indies, and the U. S.
- 641 LIEBESNY, HERBERT J. "International relations of Arabia: the dependent areas." *Middle East J.* 1 (Ap '47) 148-68. Surveys the treaty relations existing between Great Britain and the sheikhdoms of Arabia, analyzing the degree to which they have become dependent upon Britain. Saudi Arabia and the Yemen are excluded from the discussion.
- 642 LIMAYE, M. N. "The problem of juvenile delinquency." *Social Service Quart.* (Bombay) 33 (O '46) 33-38. Describes methods of organized agencies for the criminal exploitation of children. Discusses the Bombay Children's Act and its application.
- 643 AL-MAZINI, 'ISĀ HAMDI. "Ophthalmia in Egypt: a social evil." (in Arabic). *Al-Mujtama' al-Jadid* (Cairo) 4 (Ap '47) 6-9. A brief but informative popular discussion of the prevalence of acute and chronic ophthalmia in Egypt, with suggestions for remedial measures.
- 644 MEGAW, JOHN. "The health of India." *Indian J. of Pediatrics* (Bombay) 13 (Jl '46) 100-110. The author considers India's greatest evils to be malnutrition and over-population; these he regards as "preventable diseases" requiring the immediate attention of the government.
- 645 MIHAËLOFF, S. "Traitement des ordures ménagères." *L'Egypte Contemporaine* (Cairo) 234/5 (My/D '46) 237-45. Suggests two methods that would be beneficial both from

- the point of view of social hygiene and agricultural economy in Egypt.
- 646 MOHAMMED HAFIZ SYED. "Is Islam anti-humanitarian?" *Indian Rev.* (Madras) 48 (F '47) 57-59. Holds that the basic principles of Islam disavow the criminal and intolerant acts perpetrated in its name in India, and urges true believers and Moslem divines to bring such activities to an end.
- 647 MOOKERJEE, H. C. "Opium consumption, II." *Calcutta Rev.* 101 (D '46) 197-208. Traces the increase in opium consumption in the British provinces of India from the Mutiny to the end of World War I.
- 648 MOOKERJEE, H. C. "Britain's dual opium policy." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 80 (N '46) 343-48. Author presents statistical evidence in support of his contention that British policy on non-medical use of opium performs a complete about-face in British-controlled areas east of the Suez Canal.
- 649 MOORHEAD, HELEN HOWELL. "Narcotics control under the UN." *Far East. Survey* 16 (Mr 12, '47) 55-58. Includes a discussion of Iran's position in the control of opium.
- 650 MUJEEB, M. "Jamia Millia Islamia." *Vishva-Bharati Quart.* (Calcutta) 12 n.s. (O '46) 111-15. An account of the founding of the National Moslem University at Delhi, and its subsequent activities, especially in the field of primary education.
- 651 PERLMANN, M. "Higher education in the Arab countries." *Pal. Affairs* (New York) 2 (Ja '47) 4-6. A short objective review of the colleges in the various countries.
- 652 RANADE, RAM KESHAV. "Caste system in India." *Social Service Quart.* (Bombay) 33 (O '46) 39-44. For a change, a defense of the caste system.
- 653 RANJAN, M. P. "Synthetic anti-malarial remedies." *Indian Medical Record* (Calcutta) 66 (O '46) 244-50. A minutely detailed paper of instructions in the latest drugs and dosages for the treatment of malaria, especially the disease and its treatment as applied to India.
- 654 RAO, K. NAGARAJA. "Library movement in the Madras Province." *Indian Librarian* (Lahore) 1 (D '46) 75-78. Describes the various libraries and library associations constituting the Madras Library Association. (To be continued).
- 655 RAY, BRAJA SUNDAR. "Two systems of thought." *Mod. Rev.* (Calcutta) 81 (F '47) 107-109. Advances the thesis that Hinduism, in contradistinction to almost all other religious movements ancient and modern, preaches and practices the kind of tolerance necessary for world salvation.
- 656 SANGER, RICHARD H. "Ibn Saud's program for Arabia." *Middle East J.* 1 (Ap '47) 180-90. Discusses the projects to which King Ibn Saud plans to devote the proceeds from his oil royalties.
- 657 SESHAIYANGAR, R. "Yogic physical education." *Teaching* (Madras) 19 (Mr '47) 92-6. A brief discussion of the *asanas* in general, followed by detailed and illustrated instruction in eight selected *asanas*.
- 658 SHAMANNA, D. and HEDGE, K. V. "Some clinical impressions of a plague epidemic." *Indian Medical Gazette* (Calcutta) 81 (O '46) 432-33. Clinical observations and treatment of 26 cases of bubonic plague in Saklasapur, Mysore State, in March 1946.
- 659 WHITEHEAD, G. O. "Personal names among the Bari." *Man* 47 (Mr '47) 45-46. On the type of names given children by the Bari, a group living on the banks of the Upper Nile in the Southern Sudan.

SCIENCE

- 660 KHASTGIR, S. R., RAY, J. N., and BANERJEE, A. "Dielectric properties of Indian soils at high and medium radio-frequencies." *Indian J. of Physics* (Calcutta) 29 (Ag '46) 119-47. The full official report of a project undertaken to test dielectric properties of soils from 15 different localities in India.
- 661 MEYERHOF, MAX. "La première mention d'un insecte mannipare par un auteur arabe du XIe siècle." *Bull. de l'Institut d'Egypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 77-80. The earliest mention of the idea of the production of manna as due to insect activity is found in al-Birūnī's *Kūdh al-Ṣaydanah*.
- 662 VALLOIS, H. V. "L'Anthropologie en France durant la Guerre." *Man* 47 (F '47) 25-28. Includes a section on physical anthropological research in North Africa.
- 663 VON GRUNEBAUM, G. and ABEL, T. M. "The contribution of a medieval Arab scholar to the problem of learning." *J. of Personality* (Durham, N. C.) 15 (1946-1947) 59-69. A fairly detailed analysis of the *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim — Tarīq al-Ta'allum* of al-Zarnūjī (12-13th century) which, Prof. Von Grunebaum says, is interesting reading not only from the point of view of ethnology and cultural history, but from that of education and psychology as well.

ART

(*Archaeology, architecture, epigraphy, numismatics, minor arts, painting and music, manuscripts and papyri*)

- 664 "Art into living: Silk prints, 1947." *Art News* 45 (Ja '47) 34-38. One of the examples dis-

- cussed and illustrated is based on an early thirteenth century Persian pottery design — not miniature as stated in text and caption.
- 665 "Mediterranean embroideries." *Bull. Art Inst. of Chicago* 41 (Ap-M'y '47) 48-9; 5 illust. Examples from the collection of Greek Island and Turkish embroideries from the Burton Y. Berry collection.
- 666 AKOK, MAHMUT. "The Candaroğlu Mahmut Bey Mosque in the village of Kasaba, district of Kastamonu." (in Turkish). *Bellelen* (Ankara) 10 (Ap '46) 293-301. An architectural report on the Candaroğlu (Jāndaroghlu) Mahmut Bey Mosque, located in the village of Kasaba (formerly Ilişu) in the district of Kastamonu in Anatolia; together with the text of the mosque foundation inscription dated 768 A.H.
- 667 ARTUK, İBRAHİM. "The Great Mosque of the Artuk Oğulları at Dunaysir." (in Turkish). *Bellelen* (Ankara) 10 (Ja '46) 167-69. Text, with commentary, of the inscriptions in the mihrab of the Urtūqid (Artukid) Ulu Cami at Dunaysir, southwest of Mardin.
- 668 BAHRAMI, MEHMED. "A master-potter of Kashan." (in French). *Trans. of Orient. Ceramic Soc.* 20 (1944-1945) 35-40. Study of the work of a tile-maker and potter between 598 and 612 H. (1202 and 1215 A.D.) whose signature is now read as Abū Zaid-i Bāz and who is thought to be identical with Abū Zaid b. Muḥammad b. Abī Zaid al-Naqqāsh who in 612 H. (1215 A.D.) signed a mihrāb in the shrine of Imām Ridā in Meshed. With six plates (one of which is missing, since the following one has been printed twice) and a postscript by Arthur Lane, pp. 41-2.
- 669 BULLOCK, RANDOLPH. "Oriental arms and armor." *Bull. of Metropolitan Mus. of Art* 5 (F '47) 169-72; 6 figs. Written for the opening of the Gallery of Oriental Arms and Armor of the Museum. Illustrates a suit of armor, Turkish, fifteenth century, and two Turkish swords of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.
- 670 ḤASAN, ZAKĪ MUḤAMMAD. "At the exposition of Islamic art at the Arab Museum, February-March 1947." *Al-Kutāb* (Cairo) 2 (Mr '47) 725-35. An illustrated account of the recent exhibit of Islamic art, principally pottery, from the collections of dealers and private individuals in Cairo.
- 671 'IZZAT, MUṢṬAFĀ MUḤAMMAD. "The international fine arts exhibition in Cairo: Egyptian section." (in Arabic) *Al-Mujtama' al-Jadīd* (Cairo) 4 (Ap '47) 21-25. Contains little criticism, but is of interest for its enumeration of modern Egyptian artists and their works in this exhibition. Illust.
- 672 KELLEY, CHARLES FABENS. "Magic carpets from the East. A loan exhibition of antique Oriental rugs." *Bull. of Art Inst. of Chicago* 41 (F '47) 16-20; 10 figs. The short introductory essay is illustrated by Persian, Egyptian, Indian, and Turkish examples of the first order.
- 673 KRAUS, ERNST. "New or recent issues." *Numismatist* 60 (Ap '47) 298. Notice of bronze issue of Cutch, 1936, and of aluminum issues of Morocco, 1945.
- 674 KUFTIN, B. A. "Prehistoric culture sequence in Transcaucasia." *Southwestern J. of Anthropology* 2 (autumn '46) 340-60. Summary in English of the preliminary report of the Tsalka Archaeological Expedition which carried on extensive archeological excavations in Georgia (USSR). Comparisons and correlations are made with prehistoric sites in Iran and Mesopotamia.
- 675 MADFADYEN, W. A. "Bedyal pottery: a painted ware made in Iraqi Kurdistan." *Man* 47 (Mr '47) 47-48. On the distinctive pottery made in a Nestorian Christian village situated northwest of Rowandiz in Iraq. Illustrated with photographs.
- 676 MARTINOVITCH, NICHOLAS N. "Christodoulos and Riza." *Artibus Asiae* (Ascona, Switzerland) 8 (1945) 265-68. Additional remarks about the problems connected with the builder of the Fatih Mosque in Istanbul and the Persian artist Riza-i 'Abbasi. With 2 illust.
- 677 ÖZGÜÇ, NİMET. "Some animal figures found at Kültepe." (in Turkish). *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (Ja-F '47) 133-37. Illust.
- 678 AL-QĀDĪ, MUḤAMMAD YUNUS. "The beginnings of the cinema in Egypt." (in Arabic). *Al-Mujtama' al-Jadīd* (Cairo) 4 (Ap '47) 52-54. A short account of public reaction to the first film shown in Egypt, with remarks on the first film produced in that country.
- 679 REITLINGER, GERALD. "Sultanabad. Classification and chronology." *Trans. of Orient. Ceramic Soc.* 20 (1944-1945) 25-34. A study of various pottery types of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries classified as "Sultanabad Ware," with 23 figures on 6 plates.
- 680 SCHUSTER, CARL. "Some comparative considerations about western Asiatic carpet designs." *Artibus Asiae* (Ascona, Switzerland) 9 (1-3) (1946) 68-92. Study of the "phoenix-motif" and implications derived from its vast distribution and variety of forms.
- 681 TAGORE, ABANINDRANATH. "Art and nationalism." *India Speaks* (Calcutta) 1 (My '46) 31-33. Artistic excellence does not depend on national prosperity nor on nationalism. India, as it grows in stature among the nations of the world, must not lose touch with its artistic past, but must provide a better home for its indigenous art.

- 682 ÜNVER, SÜHEYL A. "Uniformity in old Turkish ornamentation." (in Turkish). *Türk Tekstil Mecmuası* (Istanbul) 1 (Ja '47) 24-5. Irrespective of the material and technique used, uniformity, but never imitation, characterizes old Turkish ornamentation. English, French, and German digests. Illust.
- 683 VAN DE PUT, A. "Reconsidering Hispano-Moresque." *Burlington Mag.* 89 (Ap '47) 102-4. Critical remarks on the article by Arthur Lane on Hispano-Moresque pottery published in the same journal in October 1946.
- NE (read as "TAR", e.g. in Ishtar, Tarsis); Ê ("sea") URU).
- 690 RAYNAUD, H. "Les toponymes du Haut-Atlas." *Rev. de Géographie Marocaine* (Rabat) 1 (1946) 28-31. The author sees in many of them Egyptian and Sumerian origins.

LANGUAGE

- 684 BOLDYREV, A. N. "The pluperfect tense in neo-Persian literary language." (in Russian). *Izvest. Akad. Nauk SSSR. Otdel. lit. i yuz.* (Moscow) 5 (1946) 490-96. A study of the frequency of the use of the "Perfect II" tense in modern Persian, with a retrospective survey of its use in medieval Persian literature.
- 685 FREIMAN, A. A. "The problems of Iranian philology." (in Russian). *Izvest. Akad. Nauk SSSR. Otdel. lit. i yuz.* (Moscow) 5 (1946) 373-86. A concise survey of the history of the ancient Persian language, based on the study of recent archeological finds and correlated with the early history of Persia itself. The author emphasizes the greater need, in view of the importance of modern Iran, for Russian Iranologists to work in the Iranian languages and literatures that fall within the territory of the Soviet Union.
- 686 GREENBERG, JOSEPH. "Swahili prosody." *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 67 (Ja-Mr '47) 24-9. Shows the many-sided influences of Arabic.
- 687 AL-CHALABI, DĀWŪD. "Technical dictionary of skin diseases." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 22 (Ja-F '47) 27-36. In a speech delivered to the Arab Medical meeting at Aleppo, Dr. al-Chalabi announced his dictionary, which covers 3181 entries for which he was able to find Arabic or Arabized terms instead of the foreign terms used so far.
- 688 KUN, T. HALAZI. "Philologica I." (in Turkish). *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (Ja-F '47) 1-37. Researches in historical Turkic linguistics.
- 689 RAYNAUD, H. "Les origines du nom 'méditerranée.'" *Rev. de Géographie Marocaine* (Rabat) 2/3 (1946) 78-80. The author rejects the familiar etymology in favor of the following: MED (from the Sumerian word for "horse"); I (cow); TER (Egyptian word for "falcon"); RA (Egyptian sun god and lion);
- 691 'AZZĀM, 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB. "Arabic literature in Persia." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 21 (N-D '46) 491-501. A study of Persian authors who composed their works in Arabic and of others who used both languages in their writings.
- 692 'AZZĀM, 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB. "The Arabic language in the non-Arabic Islamic countries. II. Turkey and India." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 22 (Ja-F '47) 20-6. Follows the pattern of the preceding article.
- 693 BAŞGÖZ, İ. "Folklore collecting in eastern Anatolia." (in Turkish). *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (Ja-F '47) 109-115. A statement of folklore collections made in 1946 at various villages in Eastern Anatolia. Thirteen folk-romances as recited by five narrators, comprising 1025 pages of MS. were recorded.
- 694 GÖKBAKAR, İBRAHİM. "Folktales and folksong." (in Turkish). *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (Ja-F '47) 39-44. An illustration of the occurrence of folksong plot-motifs as the basis of new folktales. A folktale collected in Kars is quoted in full.
- 695 HĀRŪN, 'ABD AL-SALĀM. "*Al-Risālah al-Miṣriyāh*." (in Arabic). *Al-Kutāb* (Cairo) 2 (Mr '47) 758-64. Continuation of an edition of the description of Egypt by Abū al-Ṣalt Umayyah ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn abī al-Ṣalt al-Andalusī. (To be continued).
- 696 JAWĀD, MUṢṬAFĀ. "The commentary on al-Mutanabbī's *Dīwān* is by Ibn 'Adlān, not by al-'Ukbarī." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 22 (Ja-F '47) 37-47. The impossibility of al-'Ukbarī being the author of the commentary on al-Mutanabbī's poems, as was assumed so far, is proven with the support of wide literary and historical evidence. (To be continued).
- 697 KURD 'ALĪ, MUḤAMMAD. "The treasures of the ancestors." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 22 (Ja-F) 3-19. Biographies and appreciations of the historians al-Ṣūlī, Aḥmad ibn abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr (the author of the *Kutāb Baghdād*) and al-Qādi al-Tanūkhī.

LITERATURE

- 698 AL-MAGHRABĪ, 'ABD AL-QĀDIR. "A treasure of al-Jāhīz. I. II." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 21/22 (N-D '46/Ja-F '47) 530-37/48-54. A critical review of the four pamphlets by al-Jāhīz discovered and published by P. Kraus and Muḥammad Tāhā al-Ḥājiri in 1943. (To be continued).
- 699 MERRILL, JOHN E. "Dr. Bell's critical analysis of the Qur'an." *Moslem World* 37 (Ap '47) 134-48. An explanation of the assumptions on which Bell based his translation and re-arrangement of the Suras of the Qur'an.
- 700 MUKHLIṢ, 'ABDALLĀH. "A collection of poems of difficult construction and ambiguous meaning." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 21 (N-D '46) 544-47. Description of a manuscript in the Mosque of Aḥmad Pāshā al-Jazzār in 'Akkā, containing a work by the so far unknown author, Mas'ūd ibn Aḥmad al-Shāfi', who wrote under the Ayyūbid Sultan al-Kāmil (615-635 A.H.). Its purpose is to comment upon verses by ancient poets which apparently violate the rules of grammar or do not make good sense.
- 701 MUKHLIṢ, 'ABDALLĀH. "*Kitāb al-Tamhīd fī Bayān al-Tawhīd*." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 22 (Ja-F '47) 65-68. This compendium of Islamic theology by Abū al-Shukūr Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Sayyid ibn Shu'ayb al-Sālimī al-Laythī is found in a unique manuscript owned by the Shaykh Fawzi 'Aṭiyyah of 'Akkā. Nothing is known about the author's biography.
- 702 NYKL, A. R. "Something new on Ibn Quzmān." *Speculum* 21 (O '46) 498-99. A testy criticism of an article on Ibn Quzmān by E. Lévi-Provençal.
- 703 RIDĀ, AḤMAD. "*Aḡrab al-mawārid*." III. (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 21 (Jl-A '46) 317-28. The well-known Arabic dictionary by Sa'id al-Shartūnī is submitted to a painstaking criticism. The present installment covers the letters *ḥā* (latter part) and *khā*.
- 704 ṢALIBĀ, JAMĪL. "Al-Ghazzālī and the pseudo-philosophers." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmī al-'Arabī* (Damascus) 21 (N-D '46) 502-514. The position of al-Ghazzālī toward the problems of knowledge, the world (time and space), and causality. In contrast with his contemporaries, he shows that the human intellect can only perceive the data of experience. He is therefore a forerunner of Descartes, Malebranche, Kant, and Hume.
- 705 TUĞRUL, MEHMET. "The folk-literature of the village of Mahmut-gazi." (in Turkish). *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* (Ankara) 5 (Ja-F '47) 67-79. Reviews the folklore resources of an

Anatolian village. The author's attempt to record the complete repertoires of Mahmut-gazi narrators resulted in: 158 legends, romances, folktales, and *schwänke*; 401 songs and other metrical forms; 59 riddles. Summary of doctoral dissertation. With a German version, pp. 81-90.

BIOGRAPHY AND OBITUARIES

- 706 "Faris Bey al-Khouri." *Pal. Affairs* (New York) 2 (Mr '47) 33. Brief biography of the member for Syria on the UN Security Council.
- 707 "Jamil Mardam Bey." *Pal. Affairs* 2 (Ja '47) 7. Mardam became Syrian Prime Minister on Dec. 24, 1946.
- 708 "Mahmoud Fahmy Nokrashy Pasha." *Pal. Affairs* 2 (Ja '47) 7. Nokrashy was again appointed Prime Minister of Egypt on Dec. 9, 1946.
- 709 "Riad as-Sulh." *Pal. Affairs* 2 (Ja '47) 7. Riad as-Sulh became Lebanese Prime Minister on Dec. 15, 1946.
- 710 "Dr. Taha Husein." *Pal. Affairs* 2 (F '47) 21. Brief biography of the most famous modern Arabic writer.
- 711 ARBERRY, A. J. "The Jones tradition in British Orientalism." *Indian Art and Letters* (London) 20 n.s. (1946) 1-15. A new and scholarly interpretation of the life and works of Sir William Jones, the father of modern Indology.
- 712 BATṬĪ, RAFĀ'IL. "Anastās Marie al-Karmali, 1866-1947." *Al-Kitāb* (Cairo) 2 (Mr '47) 747-59. A detailed account of the life and works of a well-known orientalist by a prominent Iraqi journalist.
- 713 CATTALUI, RENÉ. "Georges Douin (1884-1944)." *Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 89-95. Obituary of the well-known authority and writer on modern Egyptian history, with bibliography.
- 714 FLEURE, H. J. "Harold John Edward Peake, 1867-1946." *Man* 47 (Mr '47) 48-50. An obituary of the well-known student of Near Eastern and Central Asian prehistory, written by the scholar who collaborated with him in many of his recent publications.
- 715 KEIMER, LOUIS. "Max Meyerhof, 1874-1945." *Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 167-82. Excellent obituary of the famous ophthalmologist and historian of Arab science, with bibliographical notes.
- 716 KUENTZ, CHARLES. "Paul Kraus, 1904-1944." *Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 431-41. Obituary of the well-known Arabic scholar, with bibliography.
- 717 KURD 'ALĪ, MUḤAMMAD. "The great scholar al-Marāghī, Shaykh of al-Azhar."

(in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi* (Damascus) 21 (Jl-Ag '46) 289-305. Obituary of the Shaykh of the Al-Azhar University, Muḥammad Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, by the President of the Arabic Academy, of which the late al-Marāghī, a disciple of Muḥammad 'Abduh and a partisan of moderate reform in Islam, was a member.

- 718 LUSENA, ALBERTO. "Notice nécrologique sur M^r Giovanni Ferrante." *Bull. de l'Institut d'Égypte* (Cairo) 27 (1946) 151-66. Obituary of a prominent ex-judge of the Mixed Courts of Egypt and authority on Egyptian entomology. With bibliography.
- 719 AL-NAKADI, 'ARIF. "Al-Amīr Shakīb Arslān." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi* (Damascus) 22 (Ja-F '47) 56-95. A passionate obituary of the famous Moslem Lebanese author and political leader, with a bibliography of his printed writings.
- 720 ZAKI, MARIE-CATHERINE BOULAD. "Le cheikh Moustapha Abdel Razek." *L'Égypte Nouvelle* (Cairo) 149 (F 21, '47) 149 ff.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 721 "Publication trends in 1946: Iraq." *Al-Kutāb* (Cairo) 2 (Mr '47) 785-92. A useful summary of publications in various fields which appeared in Iraq in 1946.
- 722 'AWWĀD, GÜRGIS. "Manuscript catalogues in Iraq." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi* (Damascus) 21 (N-D '46) 538-43. A list of the printed catalogues of Arabic and Syriac manuscripts in Iraq, followed by an invaluable survey of other catalogues (also of Persian, Turkish, and Hebrew MSS.) not yet published: 400 in the Arabic Museum in Baghdad, 1,500 in the Carmelite Monastery in Baghdad, 334 in the author's and his brother's possession, others in the Āl Bāsh A'yān al-'Abbāsī library in Basra; Syriac MSS. in Mosul and the Monastery of St. Matthew. Many other MSS. are privately owned.
- 723 EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E. "A select bibliography of writings on Cyrenaica. Part II." *African Studies* (Johannesburg) 5 (Je '46) 189-94. Part I appeared in this Journal in Vol. 4, no. 3, Sept. 1945. The bibliography is especially full in regard to the Sanusis and the Italian conquest and colonization of Cyrenaica. Arranged alphabetically by author.
- 724 KURD 'ALI, MUHAMMAD. "Syrian authors." (in Arabic). *Maj. al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi* (Damascus) 21 (N-D '46) 481-90. A brief survey of writers, both Christian and Moslem, during the "age of decline" i.e., the nineteenth century and the twentieth to the end of the Ottoman rule.

MISCELLANEOUS

- 725 CARIAPPA, BRIGADIER K. M. "Industrialization in relation to the need of India's armed forces." *J. of Indian Inst. Internat. Affairs* (New Delhi) 2 (O '46) 1-8. No country's military establishment can exist independently of that country's industry. If India desires a respectable military establishment, she must plan and effect a rapid industrialization of her economy.
- 726 WATUMULL, ELLESS. "Prof. Radhakrishnan's recent American tour." *Hindustan Rev.* (Patna) 80 (S '46) 151-55. The itinerary of Radhakrishnan in America, including an account of his famous lecture at the Library of Congress, Mar. 26, 1946.

BOOK REVIEWS

- 727 *A food plan for India. World Affairs* (London) 1 (Ja '47) 104-5. (G. Carstairs).
- 728 *A plan of economic development for India. World Affairs* (London) 1 (Ja '47) 104-5. (G. Carstairs).
- 729 ABBOTT, NABIA. *Two queens of Baghdad. Moslem World* 37 (Ap '47) 154-55. (Elisabeth Calverley Lawn); *Amer. Hist. Rev.* 52 (Ap '47) 496-99. (William Thomson).
- 730 AKHILANANDA, SWAMI. *Hindu psychology: its meaning for the West. Middle East J.* 1 (Ap '47) 222. (George W. Briggs).
- 731 ALLEN, H. B. *Rural education and welfare in the Middle East. Middle East J.* 1 (Ap '47) 215. (Afif I. Tannous); *Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ja '47) 96-8. (Humphrey Bowman).
- 732 ARBERRY, A. J. *Asiatic Jones: the life and influence of Sir William Jones (1746-1794). Royal Cent. Asian J.* 34 (Ja '47) 106-7.
- 733 ARCHER, JOHN CLARK. *The Sikhs in relation to Hindus, Moslems, Christians, and Ahmadiyyas. A study in comparative religion. Man* 47 (F '47) 33-4. (John Murphy); *J. Amer. Orient. Soc.* 67 (Ja-Mr '47) 67-70. (Ananda K. Coomaraswamy).
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ABBREVIATIONS

ENGLISH

Acad., Academy
 Amer., American
 Bull., Bulletin
 Cent., Central
 Contemp., Contemporary
 Dept., Department
 East., Eastern
 Geog., Geographical
 Gt. Brit., Great Britain
 Hist., Historical
 Illust., Illustrated
 Inst., Institute
 Internat., International
 J., Journal

Mag., Magazine
 Mod., Modern
 Mus., Museum
 Natl., National
 Numis., Numismatic
 Orient., Oriental
 Pal., Palestine
 Philol., Philological
 Polit., Political
 Quart., Quarterly
 Res., Research
 Rev., Review
 Soc., Society
 Stud., Studies
 Trans., Transactions

ARABIC

K., Kitāb
 Maj., Majallah, Majallat

ITALIAN

Mod., Moderno

RUSSIAN

Akad., Akademii
 Fil., Filosofi
 Ist., Istori
 Izvest., Izvestiya
 Lit., Literaturi
 Otdel., Otdeleniye
 Ser., Seriya
 Yaz. Yazika